CENTENARY EDITION

THE WORKS OF THOMAS CARLYLE

IN THIRTY VOLUMES

VOL. IX

CROMWELL'S LETTERS AND SPEECHES

IV

Charles II

THOMAS CARLYLE

OLIVER CROMWELL'S LETTERS AND SPEECHES

WITH ELUCIDATIONS

IN FOUR VOLUMES
VOLUME IV

LONDON
CHAPMAN AND HALL
LIMITED
1897

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PART TENTH

SECOND PROTECTORATE PARLIAMENT

1657-1658

LETTERS CCXV, CCXVI

Two Letters near each other in date, and now by accident brought contiguous in place; which offer a rather singular contrast; the one pointing as towards the Eternal Heights, the other as towards the Tartarean Deeps! Between which two Extremes the Life of men and Lord Protectors has to pass itself in this world, as wisely as it can. Let us read them, and hasten over to the new Year Fifty-Seven, and last Department of our subject.

LETTER CCXV

Newcastle-upon-Tyne, or the Municipal Authorities there, as we may perceive, are rather of the Independent judgment; and have a little dread of some encouragement his Highness has been giving to certain of the Presbyterian sect in those parts. This Letter ought to be sufficient reassurance.

TO THE MAYOR OF NEWCASTLE: TO BE COMMUNICATED TO THE ALDERMEN AND OTHERS WHOM IT DOTH CONCERN

Whitehall, 18th December 1656.

Gentlemen, and my very good Friends,—My Lord Strickland, who is one of our Council, did impart to us a Letter

written from yourselves to him, according to your desire therein expressed; which occasions this return from us to you.

As nothing that may reflect to the prejudice of your outward Good, either Personal or as you are a Civil Government, shall easily pass with us; so, much less what shall tend to your discouragement, as you are Saints, to your Congregations, gathered in that way of fellowship commonly known by the name of Independents, whether of one judgment or other:— "this" shall be far from being actually discountenanced, or passively "left to" suffer damage, by any applying themselves to me. I do, once for all, give you to understand, that I should thereby destroy and disappoint one of the main ends for which God hath planted me in the station I am in.

Wherefore I desire you in that matter to rest secure. True it is that two Ministers, one Mr. Cole and one Mr. Pye, did present to me a Letter in the name of divers Ministers of Newcastle, the Bishoprick of Durham and Northumberland; of an honest and Christian purpose: the sum whereof I extracted, and returned an Answer thereunto;—a true Copy whereof I send you here enclosed. By which I think it will easily appear, that the consideration of my kindness is well deserved by them; provided they observe the condition "there" expressed; which in charity I am bound to believe they will; and without which their own consciences and the world will know how to judge of them.

Having said this, I, or rather the Lord, require of you, That you walk in all peaceableness and gentleness, inoffensiveness, truth and love towards them, as becomes the Servants and Churches of Christ. Knowing well that Jesus Christ, of whose diocese both they and you are, expects it. Who, when He comes to gather His People, and to make Himself 'a name and praise amongst all the people of the earth,'—He 'will save her that halteth, and gather her that was driven out, and will get them praise and fame in every land, where they have been put to shame.'[1] *And such 'lame ones' and 'driven-out ones' were*

[1] Zephaniah iii. 19, 20.

not the Independents only, and Presbyterians, a few years since, by the Popish and Prelatical Party in these Nations; but such are and have been the Protestants in all lands,—persecuted, and faring alike with you, in all the Reformed Churches. And therefore, knowing your charity to be as large as all the Flock of Christ who are of the same Hope and Faith of the Gospel with you; I thought fit to commend these few words to you; —being well assured it is written in your heart, So to do with this that I shall stand-by you in the maintaining of all your just privileges to the uttermost.

And committing you to the blessing of the Lord, I rest, your loving friend,

*OLIVER P.**

LETTER CCXVI

Cardinal Mazarin, the governing Minister of France in those days, is full of compliance for the Lord Protector; whom, both for the sake of France and for the Cardinal's sake, it is very requisite to keep in good humour. On France's score, there is Treaty with France, and War with its enemy Spain; on the Cardinal's are obscure Court-intrigues, Queen-mothers, and one knows not what not: in brief, the subtle Cardinal has found, after trial of the opposite course too, that friendship, or even at times obedient-servantship to Cromwell, will be essentially advantageous to him.

Some obscure quarrel has fallen-out between Charles Stuart and the Duke of York his Brother. Quarrel complicated with open politics, with Spanish War and Royalist Revolt, on Oliver's side; with secret Queen-mothers, and back-stairs diplomacies, on the Cardinal's:—of which there flit, in the dreariest manner, this and the other enigmatic vestige in the night-realm of *Thurloe*;[1] and which is partly the subject of this present Letter. A Letter unique in two respects. It is

* Thurloe, v. 714: in Secretary Thurloe's hand.

[1] iv. 506; v. 753; etc. etc.

the only one we have of Oliver Cromwell, the English Puritan King, to Giulio Mazarini, the Sicilian-French Cardinal, and King of Shreds and Patches;[1] who are a very singular pair of Correspondents brought together by the Destinies! It is also the one glimpse we have from Oliver himself of the subterranean Spy-world, in which, by a hard necessity, so many of his thoughts had to dwell. Oliver, we find, cannot quite grant Toleration to the Catholics; but he is well satisfied with this 'our weightiest affair,'—not without weight to *me* at least, who sit expecting Royalist Insurrections backed by Spanish Invasions, and have Assassins plotting for my life at present 'on the word of a Christian King!'—

Concerning the 'affair' itself, and the personages engaged in it, let us be content that they should continue spectral for us, and dwell in the subterranean Night-realm which belongs to them. The 'Person' employed from England, if anybody should be curious about him, is one Colonel Bamfield, once a flaming Presbyterian Royalist, who smuggled the Duke of York out of this Country in woman's clothes; and now lives as an Oliverian Spy, very busy making mischief for the Duke of York. 'Berkley' is the Sir John Berkley who rode with Charles First to the Isle of Wight long since;[2] the Duke of York's Tutor at present. Of 'Lockhart,' Oliver's Ambassador in France, we shall perhaps hear again. The others,—let them continue spectral to us. Let us conceive, never so faintly, that their 'affair' is to maintain in the Duke of York some Anti-Spanish notion; notion of his having a separate English interest, independent of his Brother's, perhaps superior to it; wild notion, of one or the other sort, which will keep the quarrel wide:—as accordingly we find it did for many months,[3] whatever notion it was. We can then read with intelligence sufficient for us.

[1] Three insignificant official Notes to him, in Appendix, Nos. 27, 28.
[2] Antea, vol. i. p. 292.
[3] Thurloe, iv. v. vi.: see also *Biog. Brit.* (2d edition), ii. 154.

"TO HIS EMINENCY CARDINAL MAZARIN"

"Whitehall," 26th December 1656.

The obligations, and many instances of affection, which I have received from your Eminency, do engage "me" to make returns suitable to your merits. But although I have this set home upon my spirit, I may not (shall I tell you, I cannot?) at this juncture of time, and as the face of my affairs now stands, answer to your call for Toleration.[1]

I say, I cannot, as to a public Declaration of my sense in that point; although I believe that under my Government your Eminency, in the behalf of Catholics, has less reason for complaint as to rigour upon men's consciences than under the Parliament. For I have of some, and those very many, had compassion; making a difference. Truly I have (and I may speak it with cheerfulness in the presence of God, who is a witness within me to the truth of what I affirm) made a difference; and, as Jude speaks, 'plucked many out of the fire,'[2] *—the raging fire of persecution, which did tyrannise over their consciences, and encroached by an arbitrariness of power upon their estates. And herein it is my purpose, as soon as I can remove impediments, and some weights that press me down, to make a farther progress, and discharge my promise to your Eminency in relation to that.*

And now I shall come to return your Eminency thanks for your judicious choice of that Person to whom you have intrusted our weightiest Affair: an Affair wherein your Eminency is concerned, though not in an equal degree and measure with myself. I must confess that I had some doubts of its success, till Providence cleared them to me by the effects. I was, truly, and to speak ingenuously, not without doubtings; and shall not

[1] To the Catholics here.

[2] Verses 22, 23: a most remarkable *Epistle*, to which his Highness often enough solemnly refers, as we have seen.

be ashamed to give your Eminency the grounds I had for much doubting. I did fear that Berkley would not have been able to go through and carry-on that work; and that either the Duke would have cooled in his suit,[1] *or condescended to his Brother. I doubted also that those Instructions which I sent over with* 290[2] *were not clear enough as to expressions; some affairs here denying me leisure at that time to be so particular as, "in regard" to some circumstances, I would.—If I am not mistaken in his "the Duke's" character, as I received it from your Eminency, that fire which is kindled between them will not ask bellows to blow it, and keep it burning. But what I think farther necessary in this matter I will send "to" your Eminency by Lockhart.*

And now I shall boast to your Eminency my security upon a well-builded confidence in the Lord: for I distrust not but if this breach "be" widened a little more, and this difference fomented, with a little caution in respect of the persons to be added to it,—I distrust not but that Party, which is already forsaken of God as to an outward dispensation of mercies, and noisome to their countrymen, will grow lower in the opinion of all the world.

If I have troubled your Eminency too long in this, you may impute it to the resentment of joy which I have for the issue of this Affair; and "I" will conclude with giving you assurance that I will never be backward in demonstrating, as becomes your brother and confederate, that I am, your servant,

*OLIVER P.**

[1] His suit, I understand, was for leave to continue in France; an Anti-Spanish notion.

[2] Cipher for some Man's Name, now undecipherable; to all appearance Bamfield.

* Thurloe, v. 735. In the possession of a 'Mr. Theophilus Rowe of Hampstead in Middlesex,' says Birch. Where did Rowe get it? Is it in the original hand, or only a copy? Birch is silent even as to the latter point. The style sufficiently declares it to be a genuine Letter.

SPEECH VI

SINDERCOMB

THE Spanish Invasion and Royalist Insurrection once more came to no effect: on mature judgment of the case, it seemed necessary to have Oliver Protector assassinated first; and that, as usual, could not be got done. Colonel Sexby, the frantic Anabaptist, he and others have been very busy; 'riding among his Highness's escort' in Hyde Park and elsewhere, with fleet horses, formidable weapons, with 'gate-hinges ready filed through,' if the deed could have been done;—but it never could. Sexby went over to Flanders again, for fresh consultations; left the assassination-affair in other hands, with 1,600*l.* of ready money, 'on the faith of a Christian King.' Quarter-master Sindercomb takes Sexby's place in this great enterprise; finds, he too, that there is nothing but failure in it.

Miles Sindercomb, now a cashiered Quartermaster living about Town, was once a zealous Deptford lad, who enlisted to fight for Liberty, at the beginning of these Wars. He fought strongly on the side of Liberty, being an earnest fierce young fellow;—then gradually got astray into Levelling courses, and wandered ever deeper there, till daylight forsook him, and it became quite dark. He was one of the desperate misguided Corporals, or Quartermasters, doomed to be shot at Burford, seven years ago: but he escaped overnight, and was not shot there; took service in Scotland; got again to be Quartermaster; was in the Overton Plot, for seizing Monk and marching into England, lately: whereupon Monk cashiered him: and he came to Town; lodged himself here, in a sulky threadbare manner, —in Alsatia or elsewhere. A gloomy man and Ex-Quarter-master; has become one of Sexby's people, 'on the faith of a Christian King'; nothing now left of him but the fierceness, groping some path for itself in the utter *dark*. Henry Toope,

one of his Highness's Lifeguard, gives us, or will give us, an inkling of Sindercomb; and we know something of his courses and inventions, which are many. He rode in Hyde Park, among his Highness's escort, with Sexby; but the deed could not then be done. Leave me the 1,600*l.*, said he; and I will find a way to do it. Sexby left it him, and went abroad.

Inventive Sindercomb then took a House in Hammersmith; Garden-House, I think, 'which had a banqueting-room looking into the road'; road very narrow at that part;—road from Whitehall to Hampton Court on Saturday afternoons. Inventive Sindercomb here set about providing blunderbusses of the due explosive force,—ancient 'infernal-machines,' in fact,—with these he will blow his Highness's Coach and Highness's self into small pieces, if it please Heaven. It did not please Heaven,—probably not Henry Toope of his Highness's Lifeguard. This first scheme proved a failure.

Inventive Sindercomb, to justify his 1,600*l.*, had to try something. He decided to fire Whitehall by night, and have a stroke at his Highness in the tumult. He has 'a hundred swift horses, two in a stable, up and down':—set a hundred stout ruffians on the back of these, in the nocturnal fire; and try. Thursday 8th January 1656-7; that is to be the Night. On the dusk of Thursday January 8th, he with old-trooper Cecil, his second in the business, attends Public Worship in Whitehall Chapel; is seen loitering there afterwards, 'near the Lord Lambert's seat.' Nothing more is seen of him: but about half-past eleven at night, the sentinel on guard catches a smell of fire;—finds holed wainscots, picked locks; a basket of the most virulent wildfire, 'fit almost to burn through stones,'—with lit match slowly creeping towards it, computed to reach it in some half-hour hence, about the stroke of midnight!—His Highness is summoned, the Council is summoned;—alas, Toope of the Lifeguard is examined, and Sindercomb's lodging is known. Just when the wildfire should have blazed, two Guardsmen wait upon Sindercomb; seize him, not without hard defence on his part, 'wherein his nose was nearly cut off';

bring him to his Highness. Toope testifies; Cecil peaches: —inventive Sindercomb has failed for the *last* time. To the Tower with him, to a jury of his country with him!—The emotion in the Parliament and in the Public, next morning, was great. It had been proposed to ring an alarm at the moment of discovery, and summon the Trainbands; but his Highness would not hear of it.[1]

This Parliament, really intent on settling this Nation, could not want for emotions in regard to such a matter! Parliament adjourns for a week, till the roots of the Plot are investigated somewhat. Parliament, on reassembling, appoints a day of Thanksgiving for the Nation; Friday come four weeks, which is February 20th, that shall be the general Thanksgiving Day: and in the mean time we decide to go over in a body, and congratulate his Highness. A mark of great respect to him.[2]

Parliament accordingly goes over in a body, with mellifluous Widdrington, whom they have chosen for Speaker, at their head, to congratulate his Highness. It is Friday 23d January 1656-7; about Eleven in the morning; scene, Banqueting-house, Whitehall. Mellifluous Widdrington's congratulation, not very prolix, exists in abstract;[3] but we suppress it. Here is his Highness's Reply;—rather satisfactory to the reader. We have only to regret that in passing from the Court up to the Banqueting-house, 'part of an ancient wooden staircase,' or balustrade of a staircase, 'long exposed to the weather, gave way in the crowding;[4] and some honourable Gentlemen had falls, though happily nobody was seriously hurt. Mellifluous Widdrington having ended, his Highness answers:

[1] Burton, i. 322-3, 355; Official Narrative (in *Cromwelliana*, pp. 160, 161); *State-Trials*, v. § Sindercomb.

[2] *Commons Journals*, vii. 481, 484, 493; *Burton's Diary*, i. 369, 377.

[3] Burton, ii. 488.

[4] *Cromwelliana*, p. 162. See *Thurloe* (vi. 49), and correct poor *Noble* (i. 161), who, with a double or even triple blunder, says my Lord Richard Cromwell had his leg broken on this occasion, and dates it August 1657.

'MR. SPEAKER,—I confess with much respect, that you 'have put this trouble on yourselves upon this occasion,— 'but I perceive there be two things that fill me full of sense. 'One is, The mercy on a poor unworthy creature; the second 'is, This great and, as I said, unexpected kindness of Par- 'liament, in manifesting such a sense thereof as this is which 'you have now expressed. I speak not this with compli- 'ment! That which detracts from the thing, in some sense, 'is the inconsiderableness and unworthiness of the person 'that hath been the object and subject of this deliverance, 'to wit, myself. I confess ingenuously to you, I do lie under 'the daily sense of my unworthiness and unprofitableness, 'as I have expressed to you: and if there be, as I most 'readily acknowledge there is, a mercy in it to me, I wish 'I may never reckon it on any other account than this, That 'the life that is lengthened may be spent and improved to 'His honour who hath vouchsafed the mercy, and to the service 'of you, and those you represent.

'I do not know, nor did I think it would be very season- 'able for me, to say much to you upon this occasion; being 'a thing that ariseth from yourselves. Yet, methinks, the 'kindness you bear should kindle a little desire in me; even 'at this present, to make a short return. And, as you have 'been disposed hither by the Providence of God, to congratu- 'late my mercy; so give me leave in a very word or two, 'to congratulate with you. [*Rusty, but sincere.*]

'Congratulations are ever conversant about good, bestowed 'upon men, or possessed by them. Truly, I shall in a word 'or two congratulate you with good *you* are in possession of, 'and in some respect I also with you. God hath bestowed 'upon you, and you are in possession of it,—Three Nations, 'and all that appertains to them. Which in either a geo- 'graphical, or topical consideration, are Nations. [*Indisput- 'ably!*] In which also there are places of honour and 'consideration, not inferior to any in the known world,—

'without vanity it may be spoken. Truly God hath not 'made so much soil, furnished with so many blessings, in vain! '[*Here is an idea of one's own.*] But it is a goodly sight, if 'a man behold it *uno intuitu*. And therefore this is a posses- 'sion of yours, worthy of congratulation.

'This is furnished,—give me leave to say, for I believe it 'is true,—with the best People in the world, possessing so 'much soil. A People in civil rights,—in respect of their 'rights and privileges,—very ancient and honourable. And '*in* this People, in the midst of this People, "you have, what 'is still more precious," a *People* (I know every one will hear '"and acknowledge" it) that are to God 'as the apple of 'His eye,'—and He says so of them, be they many, or be 'they few! But they are many. A People of the blessing of 'God; a People under His safety and protection. A People 'calling upon the Name of the Lord; which the Heathen do 'not. A People knowing God; and a People (according to 'the ordinary expressions) fearing God. [*We hope so!*] And 'you have of this no parallel; no, not in all the world! You 'have in the midst of you glorious things.

'Glorious things: for you have Laws and statutes, and 'ordinances, which, though not all of them so conformable 'as were to be wished to the Law of God, yet, on all hands, 'pretend not to be long rested-in farther than *as* they are 'conformable to the just and righteous Laws of God. There- 'fore, I am persuaded, there is a heart and spirit in every 'good man to wish they did all of them answer the Pattern. '[*Yea!*] I cannot doubt but that which is in the heart will 'in due time break forth. [*And we shall actually have just 'Laws, your Highness thinks?*] That endeavours will be '"made" that way, is another of your good things, with 'which in my heart "I think" you are worthily to be con- 'gratulated. And you have a Magistracy; which, in outward 'profession, in pretence, in endeavour, doth desire to put life 'into these Laws. And I am confident that among *you* will 'rest the true desire to promote every desire in others, and

'every endeavour, that hath tended or shall tend to the putting 'of these Laws in execution.

'I do "also" for this congratulate you: You have a Gospel 'Ministry among you. That have you! Such an one as,— 'without vanity I shall speak it; or without caring at all for 'any favour or respect from *them*, save what I have upon an 'account above flattery, or good words,—such an one as hath 'excelled itself; and, I am persuaded,—to speak with confi- 'dence before the Lord,—is the most growing blessing (one of 'the most growing blessings) on the face of this Nation.

'You have a good Eye "to watch over you,"—and in that 'I will share with your good favours. A good God; a God 'that hath watched over you and us. A God that hath 'visited these Nations with a stretched-out arm; and borne 'His witness against the unrighteousness and ungodliness of 'men, against those that "would" have abused such Nations, '—such mercies throughout, as I have reckoned up unto you! 'A God that hath not only withstood such to the face; but 'a God that hath abundantly blessed you with the evidence 'of His goodness and presence. And He 'hath done things 'wonderful amongst us,' 'by terrible things in righteousness.'[1] 'He hath visited us by 'wonderful things'! [*A Time of Miracle: as indeed all 'Times' are, your Highness, when 'there are* MEN *alive in them!*] In mercy and compassion 'hath He given us this day of freedom, and liberty to speak 'this, one to another; and to speak of His mercies, as He 'hath been pleased to put into our hearts. [*Where now are the Star-Chambers, High Commissions, Council-Chambers; pitiless oppressors of God's Gospel in this land? The Hang-men with their whips and red-hot branding-irons, with their Three blood-sprinkled Pillories in Old Palaceyard, and Four clean Surplices at Allhallowtide,—where are they? Vanished. Much has vanished; fled from us like the Phantasms of a Nightmare Dream!*]

'Truly, this word in conclusion. If these things be so,

[1] Isaiah xxv. 1; Psalm lxv. 5.

'give me leave to remember you but one word; which I 'offered to you with great love and affection the first day of 'meeting with you, this Parliament. It pleased God to put 'into my heart then to mention a Scripture to you, which 'would be a good conclusion of my Speech now at this time 'to you. It was, That we being met to seek the good of so 'great an Interest, as I have mentioned, and the glory of 'that God who is both yours and mine, how could we better 'do it than by thinking of such words as these, 'His salva-'tion is nigh them that fear Him,' 'that glory may dwell 'in our land'! I would not comment upon it. I hope I 'fear Him;—and let us more fear Him! If this "present" 'mercy at all doth concern you, as I see it doth,—let me, 'and I hope you will with me, labour more to fear Him! '[*Amen!*] Then we have done, "that includes all"; seeing 'such a blessing as His salvation 'is nigh them that fear 'Him,'—seeing we are all of us representatives of all the 'good of all these lands, "to endeavour with our whole 'strength" 'that glory may dwell in our land.'

'"Yes," if it be so, 'Mercy and Truth shall meet together, 'Righteousness and Peace shall kiss each other.' We shall 'know, you, and I as the father of this family, how to dis-'pose our mercies to God's glory; and how to dispose our 'severity. How to distinguish between obedient and rebel-'lious children;—and not to do as Eli did, who told his sons ''he did not *hear* well of them,' when perhaps he *saw* ill *by* 'them. And we know the severity of that. And therefore 'let me say,—though I will not descant upon the words,— 'that Mercy must be joined with Truth: Truth, in that 'respect, that we think it our duty to exercise a just severity, 'as well as to apply kindness and mercy. And truly, 'Righteousness and Mercy must kiss each other. If we will 'have Peace without a worm in it, lay we foundations of 'Justice and Righteousness. [*Hear this Lord Protector!*] 'And if it shall please God so to move you, as that you 'marry this redoubtable Couple together, Mercy and Truth,

'Righteousness and Peace,—you will, if I may be free to say 'so, be blessed whether you will or no! And that you and I 'may, for the time the Lord shall continue us together, set our 'hearts upon this, shall be my daily prayer. And I heartily 'and humbly acknowledge my thankfulness to you.'*

On Monday 9th February, Sindercomb was tried by a jury in the Upper Bench; and doomed to suffer as a traitor and assassin, on the Saturday following. The night before Saturday, his poor Sister, though narrowly watched, smuggled him some poison: he went to bed, saying, 'Well, this is the last time I shall go to bed'; the attendants heard him snore heavily, and then cease; they looked, and he lay dead. 'He was of that wretched sect called *Soul-Sleepers*, who believe that the soul falls *asleep* at death':[1] a gloomy, far-misguided man. They buried him on Tower-hill, with due ignominy; and there he rests; with none but Frantic-Anabaptist Sexby, or Deceptive-Presbyterian Titus, to sing his praise.[2]

Next Friday, Friday the 20th, which was Thanksgiving Day, 'the Honourable House, after hearing two Sermons at Margaret's, Westminster, partook of a most princely Entertainment,' by invitation from his Highness, at Whitehall. 'After dinner his Highness withdrew to the Cockpit; and there entertained them with rare music, both of voices and instruments, till the evening;'[3] his Highness being very fond of music. In this manner end, once more, the grand Assassination projects, Spanish-Invasion projects; unachievable even the Preface of them. And now we will speak of something else.

* *Burton's Diary* (from Lansdown MSS. 755, no. 244), ii. 490-3.

[1] *Cromwelliana*, p. 162.

[2] 'Equal to a Roman in virtue,' says the noisy Pamphlet *Killing no Murder*, which seems to have been written by Sexby; though Titus, as adroit King's-Flunky, at an after-period saw good to claim it. A Pamphlet much noised-of in those months and afterwards; recommending all persons to *assassinate* Cromwell;—has this merit, considerable or not, and no other worth speaking of.

[3] Newspapers (in *Burton*, i. 377); *Commons Journals*, vii. 493.

John Hampden

LETTER CCXVII

KINGSHIP

This Second Protectorate Parliament, at least while the fermenting elements or 'hundred Excluded Members' are held aloof from it, unfolds itself to us as altogether reconciled to the rule of Oliver, or even right thankful for it; and really striving towards Settlement of the Nation on that basis. Since the First constitutioning Parliament went its ways, here is a great change among us: three years of successful experiment have thrown some light on Oliver, and his mode of ruling, to all Englishmen. What can a wise Puritan Englishman do but decide on complying with Oliver, on strengthening the hands of Oliver? Is he not verily doing the thing we all wanted to see done? The old Parchments of the case may have been a little hustled, as indeed in a Ten-years' Civil War, ending in the Execution of a King, they could hardly fail to be;—but the divine Fact of the case, meseems, is well cared for! Here is a Governing Man, undeniably the most English of Englishmen, the most Puritan of Puritans,—the Pattern Man, I must say, according to the model of that Seventeenth Century in England; and a Great Man, denizen of all the Centuries, or he could never have been the Pattern one in that. Truly, my friends, I think, you may go farther and fare worse!—To the darkest head in England, even to the assassinative truculent-flunky head in steeple-hat worn brown, some light has shone out of these three years of Government by Oliver. An uncommon Oliver, even to the truculent-flunky. If not the noblest and worshipfulest of all Englishmen, at least the strongest and terriblest; with whom really it might be as well to comply; with whom, in fact, there is small hope in not complying!—

For its wise temper and good practical tendency, let us praise this Second Parliament;—admit nevertheless that its

History, like that of most Parliaments, amounts to little. This Parliament did what they could: forbore to pester his Highness with quibblings and cavillings and constitution-pedantries; accomplished respectably the Parliamentary routine; voted, what perhaps was all that could be expected of them, some needful modicum of supplies; 'debated whether it should be debated,' 'put the question whether this question should be put';—and in a mild way neutralised one another, and as it were handsomely *did nothing*, and left Oliver to do. A Record of their proceedings has been jotted-down by one of their Members there present, who is guessed rather vaguely by Editorial sagacity to have been 'one Mr. Burton.' It was saved from the fire in late years, that Record; has been printed under the title of *Burton's Diary*; and this Editor has faithfully read it,—not without wonder, once more, at the inadequacy of the human pen to convey almost any glimmering of insight to the distant human mind! Alas, the human pen, oppressed by incubus of Parliamentary or other Pedantry, is a most poor matter. At bottom, if we will consider it, this poor Burton,—let us continue to call him 'Burton,' though that was not his name,—cared nothing about these matters himself; merely jotted them down *pedantically*, by impulse from without,—that he might seem, in his own eyes and those of others, a knowing person, enviable for insight into facts 'of an high nature.' And now, by what possibility of chance, can he interest thee or me about them; now when they have turned out to be facts of no nature as all,—mere wearisome *ephemera*, and cast-clothes of facts, gone all to dust and ashes now; which the healthy human mind resolutely, not without impatience, tramples under its feet! A Book filled, as so many are, with mere dim inanity and moaning wind. Will nobody condense it into sixteen pages; instead of four thick octavo volumes? For there are, if you look long, some streaks of dull light shining even through *it*; perhaps, in judicious hands, one readable sheet of sixteen pages might be made of it;—and even the rubbish of the rest, with a proper

Index, might be useful; might at least be left to rot quietly, once it was known to be rubbish. But enough now of poor Mr. Burton and his *Diary*,—who, as we say, is not 'Mr. Burton' at all, if anybody cared to know who or what he was![1] Undoubtedly some very dull man. Under chimerical circumstances he gives us, being fated to do it, an inane History of a Parliament now itself grown very inane and chimerical!—

This Parliament, as we transiently saw, suppressed the Major-Generals; refused to authorise their continued 'Decimation, or *Ten-per-centing* of the Royalists;[2] whereupon they were suppressed. Its next grand feat was that of James Nayler and his Procession which we saw at Bristol lately. Interminable Debates about James Nayler,—excelling in stupor all the Human Speech, even in English Parliaments, this Editor has ever been exposed to. Nayler, in fact, is almost all that survives with one, from *Burton*, as the sum of what this Parliament did. If they did aught else, the human mind, eager enough to carry off news of them, has mostly dropped it on the way hither. To Posterity they sit there as the James-Nayler Parliament. Four-hundred Gentlemen of England, and I think a sprinkling of Lords among them, assembled from all Counties and Boroughs of the Three Nations, to sit in solemn debate on this terrific Phenomenon; a Mad Quaker fancying or seeming to fancy himself, what is not uncommon since, a new Incarnation of Christ. Shall we hang him, shall we whip him, bore the tongue of him with hot iron; shall we imprison him, set him to oakum; shall we roast, or boil, or stew him; —shall we put the question whether this question shall be put; debate whether this shall be debated;—in Heaven's

[1] Compare the *Diary*, vol. ii. p. 404, line 2, and vol. ii. p. 347, line 7, with *Commons Journals*, vii. 588; and again *Diary*, vol. ii. p. 346, line 13, with *Commons Journals*, vii. 450, 580: Two Parliament-Committees, on both of which 'I' the writer of the Diary sat; in neither of which is there such a name as *Burton*. Guess rather, if it were worth while to guess, one of the two Suffolk *Bacons;* most probably *Nathaniel Bacon*, Master of the 'Court of Requests,'—a dim old Law-Court fallen obsolete now.

[2] *Commons Journals*, 7th to 29th Jan. 1656-7.

name, what shall we do with him, the terrific Phenomenon of Nayler? This is the history of Oliver's Second Parliament for three long months and odd. Nowhere does the unfathomable Deep of Dulness which our English character has in it, more stupendously disclose itself. Something almost grand in it; nay, something really grand, though in our impatience we call it 'dull.' They hold by Use and Wont, these honourable Gentlemen, almost as by Laws of Nature,—by Second Nature almost as by First Nature. Pious too; and would fain know rightly the way to new objects by the old roads, without trespass. Not insignificant this English character, which can placidly debate such matters, and even feel a certain smack of delight in them! A massiveness of eupeptic vigour speaks itself there, which perhaps the liveliest wit might envy. Who is there that has the strength of ten oxen, that is able to support these things? Couldst thou debate on Nayler, day after day, for a whole Winter? Thou, if the sky were threatening to fall on account of it, wouldst sink under such labour appointed only for the oxen of the gods!—The honourable Gentlemen set Nayler to ride with his face to the tail, through various streets and cities; to be whipt (poor Nayler), to be branded, to be bored through the tongue, and then to do oakum *ad libitum* upon bread-and-water; after which he repented, confessed himself mad, and this world-great Phenomenon, visible to Posterity and the West of England, was got winded up.[1]

LETTER CCXVII

CONCERNING which, however, and by what power of jurisdiction the honourable Gentlemen did it, his Highness has still some inquiry to make;—for the limits of jurisdiction between Parliament and Law-Courts, Parliament and Single Person, are

[1] Sentence pronounced, *Commons Journals*, vii. 486-7 (16th Dec. 1656); executed in part, Thursday 18th Dec. (*ib.* 470);—petitions, negotiations on it do not end till May 26th, 1657. James Nayler's Recantation is in *Somers Tracts*, vi. 22-29.

never yet very clear; and Parliaments uncontrolled by a Single Person have been known to be very tyrannous before now! On Friday 26th December, Speaker Widdrington intimates that he is honoured with a Letter from his Highness; and reads the same in these words:

TO OUR RIGHT TRUSTY AND RIGHT WELL-BELOVED SIR THOMAS WIDDRINGTON, SPEAKER OF THE PARLIAMENT: TO BE COMMUNICATED TO THE PARLIAMENT

O. P.

Right Trusty and Well-beloved, We greet you well. Having taken notice of a Judgment lately given by Yourselves against one James Nayler: Although We detest and abhor the giving or occasioning the least countenance to persons of such opinions and practices, or who are under the guilt of the crimes commonly imputed to the said Person: Yet We, being intrusted in the present Government, on behalf of the People of these Nations; and not knowing how far such Proceeding, entered into wholly without Us, may extend in the consequence of it,—Do desire that the House will let Us know the grounds and reasons whereupon they have proceeded.

Given at Whitehall, the 25th of December 1656.*

A pertinent inquiry; which will lead us into new wildernesses of Debate, into ever deeper wildernesses;—and, in fact, into our far notablest achievement, what may be called our little oasis, or island of refuge: That of reconstructing the Instrument of Government upon a more liberal footing, explaining better the boundaries of Parliament's and Single Person's jurisdiction; and offering his Highness the Title of King.—

Readers know what choking dust-whirlwind in certain portions of 'the Page of History' this last business has given

* Burton, i. 370; see *Commons Journals*, vii. 475.

rise to! Dust-History, true to its nature, has treated this as one of the most important businesses in Oliver's Protectorate; though intrinsically it was to Oliver, and is to us, a mere 'feather in a man's cap,' throwing no new light on Oliver; and ought to be treated with great brevity indeed, had it not to many thrown much new darkness on him. It is now our painful duty to deal with this matter also; to extricate Oliver's real words and procedure on it from the detestable confusions and lumber-mountains of Human Stupidity, old and recent, under which, as usual, they lie buried. Some Seven, or even Eight, Speeches of Oliver, and innumerable Speeches of other persons on this subject have unluckily come down to us; and cannot yet be consumed by fire;—not yet, till one has painfully extricated the real speakings and proceedings of Oliver, instead of the supposititious jargonings and imaginary dark pettifoggings of Oliver; and asked candid Mankind, Whether there is anything particular in them? Mankind answering No, fire can be applied; and mountains of rubbish, yielding or not some fractions of Corinthian brass, may once more be burnt out of men's way.

The Speeches and Colloquies, reported by one knows not whom, upon this matter of the Kingship, which extend from March to May of the year 1657, and were very private at the time, came out two years afterwards as a printed Pamphlet, when Kingship was once more the question, Charles Stuart's Kingship, and men needed incitements thereto. Of course it is with the learned Law-arguments in favour of Kingship that the Pamphleteer is chiefly concerned; the words of Oliver, which again are our sole concern, have been left by him in a very accidental condition! Most accidental, often enough quite meaningless, distracted condition;—growing ever more distracting, as each new Imaginary-Editor and unchecked Printer, in succession, did his part to them. Till now in *Somers Tracts*,[1] which is our latest form of the business, they strike description silent! Chaos itself is Cosmos in comparison with

[1] vi. 349-403.

that Pamphlet in *Somers*. In or out of Bedlam, we can know well, gods or men never spake to one another in that manner! Oliver Cromwell's meaning is there; and that is *not* it. O Sluggardship, Imaginary-Editorship, Flunkyism, Falsehood, Human Platitude in general—!—But we will complain of nothing. Know well, by experience of him, that Oliver Cromwell always had a meaning, and an honest manful meaning; search well for that, after ten or twenty reperusals you will find it even there. Those frightful jungles, trampled down for two centuries now by mere bison and hoofed cattle, you will begin to see, *were* once a kind of regularly planted wood!—Let the Editor with all brevity struggle to indicate so much, candid readers doing their part along with him; and so leave it. A happier next generation will then be permitted to seek the aid of *fire*; and this immense business of the Kingship, throwing little new light, but also no new darkness, upon Oliver Protector, will then reduce itself to very small compass for his Biographers.

Monday, 23d February 1656-7. Amid the Miscellaneous business of this day, Alderman Sir Christopher Pack, one of the Members for London, a zealous man, craves leave to introduce 'Somewhat tending to the Settlement of the Nation,'—leave, namely, to read this Paper 'which has come to his hand,' which is written in the form of a 'Remonstrance from the Parliament' to his Highness; which if the Parliament please to adopt, they can modify it as they see good, and present the same to his Highness. Will not the Honourable House consent at least to hear it read? The Honourable House has great doubts on that subject; debates at much length, earnestly puts the question whether the question shall be put; at length however, after two divisions, and towards nightfall, decides that it will; and even resolves by overwhelming majority 'that a candle be brought in.' Pack reads his Paper: A new Instrument of Government, or improved Constitution for these Nations; increased powers to the Single Person, intimation of a *Second* House of Parliament, the Pro-

tector something like a King; very great changes indeed! Debate this matter farther tomorrow.

Debate it, manipulate it, day after day,—let us have a Day of Fasting and Prayer on Friday next; for the matter is really important.[1] On farther manipulation, this 'Remonstrance' of Pack's takes improved form, increased development; and, under the name 'Petition and Advice presented to his Highness,' became famous to the world in those spring months. We can see, the Honourable House has 'a very good resentment of it.' The Lawyer-party is all zealous for it; certain of the Soldier-party have their jealousies. Already, notwithstanding the official reticence, it is plain to every clear-sighted man they mean to make his Highness King!

Friday 27th February. 'The Parliament keep a Fast within their own House; Mr. Caryl, Mr. Nye, Mr. Manton, carrying on the work of the day; it being preparatory to the great work now on hand of Settling the Nation.'[2] In the course of which same day, with an eye also to the same great work, though to the opposite side of it, there waits upon his Highness, Deputation of a hundred Officers, Ex-Major-Generals and considerable persons some of them: To signify that they have heard with real dismay of some project now on foot to make his Highness King; the evil effects of which, as 'a scandal to the People of God,' 'hazardous to his Highness's person, and making way for the return of Charles Stuart,' are terribly apparent to them!—

Whereto his Highness presently makes answer, with dignity, not without sharpness: 'That he now specifically hears of this project for the first time,—*he*' (with emphasis on the word, and a look at some individuals there) 'has not been caballing about it, for it or against it. That the Title "King" need not startle *them* so dreadfully; inasmuch as some of them well know' (what the Historical Public never knew before) 'it was already offered to him, and pressed upon him by themselves when this Government was undertaken. That the Title

[1] *Commons Journals*, vii. 496-7. [2] Newspapers (in Burton, i. 380).

"King," a feather in a hat, is as little valuable to him as to them. But that the fact is, they and he have not succeeded in settling the Nation hitherto, by the schemes *they* clamoured for. Their Little Parliament, their First Protectorate Parliament, and now their Major-Generalcies, have all proved failures; —nay this Parliament itself, which they clamoured for, had almost proved a failure. That the Nation is tired of Major-Generalcies, of uncertain arbitrary ways; and really wishes to come to a Settlement. That actually the original Instrument of Government does need mending in some points. That a House of Lords, or other check upon the arbitrary tendencies of a Single House of Parliament, may be of real use: see what they, by their own mere vote and will, I having no power to check them, have done with James Nayler: may it not be any one's case, some other day?' That, in short, the Deputation of a Hundred Officers had better go its ways, and consider itself again.—So answered his Highness, with dignity, with cogency, not without sharpness. The Deputation did as bidden. 'Three Major-Generals,' we find next week, 'have already come round. The House hath gone on with much unity.'[1]

The House, in fact, is busy, day and night, modelling, manipulating its Petition and Advice. Amid the rumour of England, all through this month of March 1657. 'Chief Magistrate for the time being is to name his successor'; so much we hear they have voted. What Title he shall have, is still secret; that is to be the last thing. All men may speculate and guess!—Before March ends, the Petition and Advice is got ready; in Eighteen well-debated articles,[2] fairly engrossed on vellum: the Title, as we guessed, to be *King*. His Highness shall adopt the whole Document, or no part of it is to be binding.

[1] *Passages between the Protector and the Hundred Officers* (in Additional Ayscough MSS. no. 6125; printed in Burton, i. 382-4), a Fragment of a Letter, bearing date 7th March 1656-7;—to the effect abridged as above.

[2] Copy of it in Whitlocke, p. 648 et seqq.

SPEECHES VII—X

On Tuesday 31st March 1657, 'the House rose at eleven o'clock, and Speaker Widdrington, attended by the whole House, repaired to his Highness at Whitehall,'[1] to present this same Petition and Advice, 'engrossed on vellum,' and with the Title of 'King' recommended to him in it. Banqueting House, Whitehall; that is the scene. Widdrington's long flowery Speech[2] is omissible. As the interview began about eleven o'clock, it may now be past twelve; Oliver *loquitur*.

'Mr. Speaker,—This Frame of Government which it hath 'pleased the Parliament through your hand to offer to me, '—truly I should have a very brazen forehead if it did not 'beget in me a great deal of consternation of spirit; it being 'of so high and great importance as, by your opening of it,[3] 'and by the mere reading of it, is manifest to all men; the 'welfare, the peace and settlement of Three Nations, and all 'that rich treasure of the best people in the world[4] being 'involved therein! I say, this consideration alone ought to 'beget in me the greatest reverence and fear of God that 'ever possessed a man in the world.

'Truly I rather study to say no more at this time than 'is necessary for giving some brief general answer, suitable 'to the nature of the thing. The thing is of weight; the 'greatest weight of anything that ever was laid upon a man. 'And therefore, it being of that weight, and consisting of so 'many parts as it doth,—in each of which much more than 'my life is concerned,—truly I think I have no more to 'desire of you at present, but that you would give me time 'to deliberate and consider *what* particular answer I may 'return to so great a business as this.—

[1] *Commons Journals*, vii. 516.
[2] Burton, i. 397-413.
[3] In this long florid speech.
[4] Us and all the Gospel Protestants in the world,

'I have lived the latter part of my age in,—if I may say 'so,—the fire; in the midst of troubles. But all the things 'that have befallen me since I was first engaged in the affairs 'of this Commonwealth, if they could be supposed to be all 'brought into such a compass that I could take a view of 'them at once, truly I do not think they would "so move," 'nor do I think they ought so to move, my heart and spirit 'with that fear and reverence of God that becomes a Christian, 'as this thing that hath now been offered by you to me!— 'And truly my comfort in all my life hath been that the 'burdens which have lain heavy on me, they were laid upon 'me by the hand of God. And I have not known, I have 'been many times at a loss, which way to *stand* under the 'weight of what hath lain upon me:—except by looking at 'the conduct and pleasure of God in it. Which hitherto I 'have found to be a good pleasure to me.

'And should I give any resolution in this "matter" sud- 'denly, without seeking to have an answer put into my heart, 'and so into my mouth, by Him that hath been my God and 'my Guide hitherto,—it would give you very little cause of 'comfort in such a choice as you have made [*Of me to be 'King*] in such a business as this. It would savour more to 'be of the flesh, to proceed from lust, to arise from arguments 'of self. And if,—whatsoever the issue of this "great 'matter" be,—"my decision in" it have *such* motives in me, 'have *such* a rise in me, it may prove even a curse to you 'and to these Three Nations. Who, I verily believe, have 'intended well in this business; and have had those honest 'and sincere aims[1] towards the glory of God, the good of 'His People, the rights of the Nation. I verily believe these 'have been your aims: and God forbid that so good aims 'should suffer by any dishonesty and indirectness on my part. 'For although, in the affairs that are in the world, things 'may be intended well,—as they are always, or for the most, 'by such as love God, and fear God and make Him their aim

[1] *Subaudi*, but do not insert, 'which you profess.'

'(and such honest ends and purposes I do believe yours now 'are);—yet if these considerations[1] fall upon a person or 'persons whom God takes no pleasure in; who perhaps may 'be at the end of his work [*Growing old and weak? Say not that, your Highness!—A kind of pathos, and much dignity 'and delicacy in these tones*]; who, to please any of those 'humours or considerations which are of this world, shall run 'upon such a rock as this is,[2]—without due consideration, 'without integrity, without approving the heart to God, and 'seeking an answer from Him; and putting things *to* Him 'as if for life and death, that such an answer may be received '"from Him" as may be a blessing to the person [*Me*] who 'is to be used for these noble and worthy and honest intentions 'of the persons [*You*] that have prepared and perfected this 'work:—"why then," it would be like a match where a 'good and worthy and virtuous man *mistakes* in the person 'he makes love to; and, as often turns out, it proves a curse 'to the man and to the family, through mistake! And if 'this should be so to you, and to these Nations, whose good 'I cannot but be persuaded you have in your thoughts aimed 'at,—why then, it had been better, I am sure of it, that I 'had never been born!—

'I have therefore but this one word to say to you: That 'seeing you have made progress in this Business, and com-'pleted the work on your part, I "on my side" may have 'some short time to ask counsel of God and of my own 'heart. And I hope that neither the humour of any weak 'unwise people, nor yet the desires of any who may be lust-'ing after things that are not good, shall steer me to give 'other than such an answer as may be ingenuous and thank-'ful,—thankfully acknowledging your care and integrity;— 'and such an answer as shall be for the good of those whom 'I presume you and I serve, and are made for serving.

[1] Means 'your choice in regard to such purpose'; speaks delicately, in an oblique way.

[2] 'is,'—or may be: this of the Kingship.

'And truly I may say this also: That as the thing will 'deserve deliberation, the utmost deliberation and consider- 'ation on my part, so I shall think myself bound to give as 'speedy an answer to these things as I can.'*

SPEECH VIII

Friday 3d April 1657. Three days after the foregoing Speech, there comes a Letter from his Highness to Mr. Speaker, the purport of which we gather to have been, that now if a Committee will attend his Highness, they shall have answer to the Petition and Advice. Committee is nominated, extensive Committee of persons already engaged in this affair, among whom are Lord Broghil, General Montague, Earl of Tweedale, Whalley, Desborow, Whitlocke, and others known to us; they attend his Highness at three o'clock that afternoon; and receive what answer there is,—a negative, but none of the most decided.[1]

'My Lords,—I am heartily sorry that I did not make 'this desire of mine known to the Parliament sooner; "the 'desire" which I acquainted them with, by Letter, this day. 'The reason was, Because some infirmity of body hath seized 'upon me these last two days, Yesterday and Wednesday. [*It is yet but three days, your Highness.*]

'I have, as well as I could, taken consideration of the 'things contained in the Paper, which was presented to me 'by the Parliament, in the Banqueting-House, on Tuesday 'last; and sought of God that I might return such an 'answer as might become me, and be worthy of the Parlia- 'ment. I must needs bear this testimony to them, That 'they have been zealous of the two greatest Concernments 'that God hath in the world. The *one* is that of Religion,

* *Burton's Diary*, i. 413-16

[1] *Commons Journals*, vii. 519-20; Burton, i. 417.

'and of the just preservation of the professors of it; to give 'them all due and just Liberty; and to assert the Truth of 'God;—which you have done, in part, in this Paper; and do 'refer it more fully to be done by yourselves and me. And 'as to the Liberty of men professing Godliness, you have done 'that which was never done before! And I pray it may not 'fall upon the People of God as a fault in them, in any sort 'of them, if they do not put such a value upon this that is 'now done as never was put on anything since Christ's time, 'for such a Catholic interest of the People of God! [*Liberty in non-essentials; Freedom to all peaceable Believers in Christ to worship in such outward form as they will; a very* '*'Catholic interest' indeed.*] The *other* thing cared for is, the 'Civil Liberty and Interest of the Nation. Which though 'it is, and indeed I think ought to be, subordinate to the 'more peculiar Interest of God,—yet it is the *next best* God 'hath given men in this world; and if well cared-for, 'it is better than any rock to fence men in their other 'interests. Besides, if any whosoever think the Interest of 'Christians and the Interest of the Nation inconsistent, "or 'two different things," I wish my soul may never enter into '*their* secrets! [*We will take another course than theirs, your Highness!*]

'These are things I must acknowledge Christian and 'honourable; and they are provided for by you like Christian 'men and also men of honour,—like yourselves, English 'men. And to this I must and shall bear my testimony, 'while I live, against all gainsayers whatsoever. And upon 'these Two Interests, if God shall account me worthy, I 'shall live and die. And I must say, If I were to give an 'account before a greater Tribunal than any earthly one; 'if I were asked, Why I have engaged all along in the late 'War, I could give no answer that were not a wicked one if 'it did not comprehend these Two ends!—Meanwhile only 'give me leave to say, and to say it seriously (the issue 'will prove it serious), that you have one or two considerations

'which do stick with me. The one is, You have named me 'by another Title than I now bear. [*What* SHALL *I answer to that?*]

'You do necessitate my answer to be categorical; and 'you have left me without a liberty of choice save as to 'all. [*Must accept the whole Petition and Advice, or reject the 'whole of it.*] I question not your wisdom in doing so; I 'think myself obliged to acquiesce in your determination; 'knowing you are men of wisdom, and considering the trust 'you are under. It is a duty not to question the reason of 'anything you have done. [*Not even of the Kingship: say Yes, then!*]

'I should be very brutish did I not acknowledge the 'exceeding high honour and respect you have had for me 'in this Paper. Truly, according to what the world calls 'good, it hath nothing but good in it,—according to worldly 'approbation of[1] sovereign power. You have testified your 'value and affection as to my person, as high as you could; 'for more you could not do! I hope I shall always keep a 'grateful memory of this in my heart;—and by you I return 'the Parliament this my grateful acknowledgment. What-'ever other men's thoughts may be, I shall not own ingrati-'tude.—But I must needs say, That that may be fit for you 'to offer, which may not be fit for me to undertake. [*Pro-'found silence.*] And as I should reckon it a very great 'presumption, were I to ask the reason of your doing any one 'thing in this Paper,—(except "in" some very few things, the '"new" Instrument, "this Paper," bears testimony to itself),— 'so you will not take it unkindly if I beg of you this addition 'to the Parliament's favour, love and indulgence unto me, 'That it be taken in tender part if I give such an answer as 'I find in my heart to give in this business, *without* urging 'many reasons for it, save such as are most obvious, and most 'to my advantage in answering: Namely, that I am not 'able for such a trust and charge. [*Won't have it, then!*]

[1] Means 'value for.'

'And if the 'answer of the tongue,' as well as the preparation of the heart, be 'from God,' I must say my heart 'and thoughts ever since I heard the Parliament were upon 'this business—[*Sentence breaks down*]—"For" though I could 'not take notice of your proceedings therein without breach 'of your privileges, yet as a common person I confess I 'heard of it in common with others.— —I must say I have 'been able to attain no farther than this, That, seeing the 'way is hedged-up so as it is to me, and I cannot accept the 'things offered unless I accept all, I have not been able to 'find it my duty to God and you to undertake this charge 'under that Title. [*Refuses, yet not so very peremptorily!*]

'The most I said in commendation of the "new" Instrument may be retorted on me;—as thus: 'Are there such 'good things provided for "in this Instrument"; will you 'refuse to accept them because of such an ingredient?' 'Nothing must make a man's conscience a servant. And 'really and sincerely it is my conscience that guides me to 'this answer. And if the Parliament be so resolved, "for the 'whole Paper or none of it," it will not be fit for me to use 'any inducement to you to alter their resolution.

'This is all I have to say. I desire it may, and do not 'doubt but it will, be with candour and ingenuity represented 'unto them by you.'*

His Highness would not in all circumstances be inexorable, one would think!—No; he is groping his way through a very intricate business, which grows as he gropes; the final shape of which is not yet disclosed to any soul. The actual shape of it on this Friday afternoon, 3d April 1657, I suppose he has, in his own manner, pretty faithfully, and not without sufficient skill and dignity, contrived to express. Many considerations weigh upon his Highness; and in itself it is a most unexampled matter, this of negotiating about being made a King!

* Additional Ayscough MSS. no. 6125: printed in *Burton*, i. 417; and *Parliamentary History*, xxiii. 161.

Need of wise speech; of wise reticence no less. Nay it is of the nature of a Courtship withal: the young lady cannot answer on the first blush of the business; if you insist on her answering, why then she must even answer, No!—

SPEECH IX

Wednesday 8th April 1657. The Parliament, justly interpreting this *No* of his Highness, has decided that it will adhere to its Petition and Advice, and that it will 'present reasons to his Highness'; has got, thanks to our learned Bulstrode and others, its reasons ready;—and, this day, 'at three in the afternoon,' walks over in a body to the Banqueting-House, Speaker Widdrington carrying in his hand the Engrossed Vellum, and a Written Paper of 'Reasons,' to present the same.[1] What Speaker Widdrington spoke on the occasion is happily lost; but his 'Reasons,' which are very brief, remain on the Record;[2] and will require to be transcribed. They are in the form of a Vote or Resolution, of date yesterday, 7th April 1657:

'*Resolved*, That the Parliament having lately presented their Humble Petition and Advice to your Highness, whereunto they have not as yet received satisfaction; and the matters contained in that Petition and Advice being agreed-upon by the Great Council and Representative of the Three Nations; which matters, in their judgment, are most conducing to the good of the People thereof both in Spiritual and Civil concernments: They have therefore thought fit

'To adhere to this Advice; and to put your Highness in mind of the great obligation which rests upon you in respect of this Advice; and again to desire you to give your Assent thereunto.'

Which brief Paper of Reasons, Speaker Widdrington having read, and then delivered to his Highness, with some brief

[1] *Commons Journals*, ii. 520-1 (6th, 8th April); Burton, i. 421. [2] *Ibid.*

touches of mellifluous eloquence now happily lost,—his Highness, with a look I think of more than usual seriousness, thus answers the Assembled Parliament and him:

'MR. SPEAKER,—No man can put a greater value than I 'hope I do, and shall do, upon the desires and advices of the 'Parliament. I could in my own heart aggravate, both 'concerning the Persons advising and concerning the Advice; '—readily acknowledging that it is the Advice of the 'Parliament of these Three Nations. And if a man could 'suppose it were *not* a Parliament to some [*Malignants 'there are who have such notions*];—yet doubtless it should be 'to me, and to us all that are engaged in this common Cause 'wherein we have been engaged. I say, surely it ought to 'be a Parliament to us! Because it arises as a result of 'those issues, and determinations of Settlement, that *we have* 'laboured to arrive at! And therefore I do most readily 'acknowledge the weight of authority "you have" in advising 'these things.

'I can aggravate also to myself the general notion of the 'Things Advised-to; as being things which tend to the 'settlement of the chiefest Interests[1] that can fall into the 'hearts of men to devise or endeavour-after. And at such a 'time, "too"; when truly, I may think, the nation is big 'with expectation of something that may add to their '"security of" Being.—I therefore must needs put a very 'high esteem "upon," and have a very reverent opinion of 'anything that comes from you.

'And so I have had of this Instrument:—and, I hope, so 'I have expressed. And what I have expressed, hath been, '—if I flatter not myself,—from a very honest heart towards 'the Parliament and the Public. I say not these things to 'compliment you. For we are all past complimenting, and 'all considerations of that kind! [*Serious enough his Highness is, and we all are; the Nations and the Ages, and indeed*

[1] 'things again, in orig.

the MAKER *of the Nations and the Ages, looking on us here!*]
'We must all be very real now, if ever we will be so!—

'Now, howbeit your title and name you give to this 'Paper [*Looking on the Vellum*] makes me think you 'intended 'Advice'; and I should transgress against all 'reason, should I make any other construction than that you 'did intend Advice: "yet"—!—[*Still hesitates, then?*]—I 'would not lay a burden on my beast but I would consider 'his strength to bear it! And if you lay a burden upon a 'man that is conscious of his own infirmity and disabilities, 'and doth make some measure of counsels which may seem to 'come from Heaven, counsels from the Word of God (who 'leaves room for charity, and for men to consider their own 'strength),—I hope it will be no evil in me to measure your ''Advice' with my own Infirmities. And truly these will 'have some influence upon conscience! Conscience in him 'that receives talents[1] to know how he may answer the trust 'of them. And such a conscience have I had "in this 'matter"; and still have; and therefore, when I thought I 'had an opportunity to make an Answer, I made that Answer [*The unemphatic Negative; truest 'Answer' your Highness 'then had:—can it not grow an Affirmative?*]—and am a 'person that have been, before and then and since, lifting 'up my heart to God, To know *what* might be my duty at 'such a time as this, and upon such an occasion and trial as 'this was to me! [*Deep silence; Old Parliament casts down its eyes.*]—

'Truly, Mr. Speaker, it hath been heretofore, I think, a 'matter of philosophical discourse, That great places, great 'authority, are a great burden. I know it so. And I know 'a man that is convinced in his conscience, Nothing less 'will enable *him* to the discharge of it than Assistance from 'Above. And it may very well require in such a one, so 'convinced and so persuaded, That he be right with the

[1] Meaning 'charges,' 'offices.'

'Lord in such an undertaking!—And therefore, to speak 'very clearly and plainly to you: I had, and I have, my 'hesitations as to that individual thing. [*Still Negative, 'your Highness?*] If I undertake anything *not* in Faith, I 'shall serve you in my own Unbelief;—and I shall then 'be the most unprofitable Servant that People or Nation 'ever had!

'Give me leave, therefore, *to ask counsel.* I am ready to 'render a reason of my apprehensions; which haply may be 'overswayed by better apprehensions. I think, so far I have 'deserved no blame; nor do I take it you will lay any upon 'me. Only you mind me of the duty that is incumbent upon 'me. And truly the same answer I have as to the point of 'duty one way, the same consideration have I as to duty 'another way.[1]—I would not urge to you the point of '"Liberty." Surely you have provided for Liberty,—I have 'borne my witness to it,—Civil and Spiritual! The greatest 'provision that ever was made have you made, "for Liberty" 'to all,—and I know that you do not intend to exclude *me.* 'The "Liberty" I ask is, To vent my own doubts, and my 'own fears, and my scruples. And though haply, in such 'cases as these are, the world hath judged that a man's con-'science ought to know no scruples; yet surely mine doth, 'and I dare not dissemble. And therefore—!—

'They that are knowing in the ground of their own Action 'will be best able to measure advice to others. [*Will have 'us reason, in Free Conference, with him?*] There are many 'things in this "Instrument of" Government besides that 'one of the Name and Title, that deserve much to be eluci-'dated[2] as to my judgment. It is you that can capacitate 'me to receive satisfaction in them! Otherwise, I say truly, '—I must say, I am not persuaded to the performance of '"this" as my trust and duty, nor "sufficiently" informed.

[1] Bound to regard your 'Advice'; and yet, in doing so, not to disregard a Higher.

[2] 'deserve much information' in orig.

'"Not persuaded or informed"; and so not actuated "by a 'call of *duty*," as I know you intend I should be,—and as 'every man in the Nation should be. You have provided 'for "every one of" them as a Free Man, as a man that is 'to act possibly,[1] rationally and conscientiously!—And there-'fore I cannot tell what other return to make to you than 'this:

'I am ready to give a reason, if you will, I say, capacitate 'me to do it; and "capacitate" yourselves to receive it;—'and to do what other things may inform me a little more 'particularly than this Vote which you have passed Yesterday, 'and which has now been read by you to me.

'Truly I hope when "once" I understand the ground of 'these things,—the whole being "meant" neither for your 'good nor mine, but for the good of the Nation,—there will 'be no doubt but we may, even in these particulars, find out 'what[2] may answer our duty. Mine, and all our duties, to 'those whom we serve. And this is that that I do, with a 'great deal of affection and honour and respect, offer now to 'you.'*

Thus has the Honourable House gone a second time in a body, and not yet prevailed. We gather that his Highness has doubts, has scruples; on which, however, he is willing to be dealt with, 'to receive satisfaction,'—has intimated, in fact, that though the answer is still No, the Courtship may continue.

Committee to give satisfaction is straightway nominated: Whitlocke, Lord Chief-Justice Glynn, Lord Broghil, Fiennes, Old-Speaker Lenthall, Ninety-nine of them in all;[3] and is ready to confer with his Highness. At this point, however,

[1] Means 'in a way possible for him'; '*does* possibly' is the phrase in orig.

[2] 'those things' in orig.

* Old Pamphlet (in *Parliamentary History*, xxiii., Appendix, pp. 164-6).

[3] List in *Commons Journals*, vii. 521; in *Somers Tracts*, vi. 351.

there occurs an extraneous Phenomenon, which unexpectedly delays us for a day or two: a rising of the Fifth-Monarchy, namely. The Fifth-Monarchy, while men are meditating earthly Kingship, and Official Persons are about appointing an earthly tyrannous and traitorous King, thinks it ought to bestir itself, now or never;—explodes accordingly, though in a small way; testifying to us how electric this element of England now is.

Thursday 9th April. The Fifth-Monarchy, headed mainly by one Venner a Wine-Cooper, and other civic individuals of the old Feak-and-Powel species whom we have transiently seen emitting soot and fire before now, has for a long while been concocting underground; and Thurloe and his Highness have had eye on it. The Fifth-Monarchy has decided that it will rise this Thursday, expel carnal sovereignties; and call on the Christian population to introduce a Reign of Christ,—which it is thought, if a beginning were once made, they will be very forward to do. Let us rendezvous on Mile-End Green this day, with sword and musket, and assured heart: perhaps General Harrison, Colonel Okey, one knows not who, will join us,—perhaps a miracle will be wrought, such as Heaven might work in such a case, and the Reign of Christ actually take effect.

Alas, Heaven wrought no miracle: Heaven and his Highness sent a Troop of Horse into the Mile-End region, early in the morning; seized Venner, and some Twenty Ringleaders, just coming for the rendezvous; seized chests of arms, many copies of a flaming Pamphlet or War-manifesto with title *A Standard set up;* seized also a War-flag with Lion Couchant painted on it, Lion of the Tribe of Judah, and this motto, 'Who shall rouse him up?' O Reader, these are not fictions, these were once altogether solid facts in this brick London of ours; ancient resolute individuals, busy with wine-cooperage and otherwise, had entertained them as very practicable things! —But in two days' time, these ancient individuals and they are all lodged in the Tower; Harrison, hardly connected with

the thing, except as a wellwisher, he and others are likewise made secure: and the Fifth-Monarchy is put under lock and key.[1] Nobody was tried for it: Cooper Venner died on the scaffold, for a similar attempt under Charles Second, some two years hence. The Committee of Ninety-nine can now proceed with its 'satisfaction to his Highness'; his Highness is now at leisure for them again.

This Committee did proceed with its satisfactions; had various Conferences with his Highness,—which unfortunately are not lost; which survive for us, in *Somers Tracts* and the old Pamphlets, under the Title of *Monarchy Asserted*; in a condition, especially his Highness's part of them, enough to drive any Editor to despair! The old Pamphleteer, as we remarked, was intent only on the learned law-arguments in favour of Kingship; and as to what his Highness said, seems to have taken it very easy; printing what vocables he found on his Notepaper, with or without meaning, as it might chance. Whom new unchecked Printers and Imaginary-Editors following, and making the matter ever worse, have produced at last in our late time such a Coagulum of Jargon as was never seen before in the world! Let us not speak of it; let us endeavour to get through it,—through this also, now since we have arrived at it, and are not yet permitted to burn it! Out of this sad monument of Human Stupor too the imprisoned Soul of a Hero must be extricated. Souls of Heroes,—they have been imprisoned, enchanted into growing Trees, into glass Phials, into leaden Caskets sealed with Solomon's signet, and sunk in the deep sea;—but to this of *Somers Tracts* there wants yet a parallel! Have not we English a talent of musical utterance? Here are men consummating the most *epic* of acts, Choosing their King; and it is with such melodious elegancies that they do it; it is in such soft-flowing hexameters as the following that the Muse gives record of it!—

[1] Narrative in *Thurloe*, vi. 184-8.

My reader must be patient; thankful for mere Dulness, thankful that it is not Madness over and above. Let us all be patient; walk gently, swiftly, lest we awaken the sleeping Nightmares! We suppress, we abridge, we elucidate; struggle to make legible his Highness's words,—dull but not insane. Notes where not indispensable are not given. The curious reader can, in all questionable places, refer to the Printed Coagulum of Jargon itself, and see whether we have read aright.

SPEECH X

PROPERLY an aggregate of many short Speeches, and passages of talk: his Highness's part in this First Conference with the Committee of Ninety-nine. His Highness's part in it; the rest, covering many pages, is, so far as possible, strictly suppressed. One of the dullest Conferences ever held, on an epic subject, in this world. Occupied, great part of it, on mere preliminaries, and beatings about the bush; throws light, even in its most elucidated state, upon almost nothing. Oliver is here—simply what we have known him elsewhere. Which so soon as Mankind once understand to be the fact, but unhappily not till then,—the aid of *fire* can be called in, as we suggested.

Fancy, however, that the large Committee of Ninety-nine has got itself introduced into some Council-room, or other fit locality in Whitehall, on Saturday 11th April 1657, 'about nine in the morning'; has made its salutations to his Highness, and we hope been invited to take seats;—and all men are very uncertain how to act. Who shall begin? His Highness wishes much *they* would begin; and in a delicate way urges and again urges them to do so; and, not till after great labour and repeated failures, succeeds. Fancy that old scene; the ancient honourable Gentlemen waiting there to do their epic feat: the ponderous respectable Talent for Silence obliged to break-up and become a kind of Utterance in this thick-

skinned manner:—really rather strange to witness, as dull as it is!—

The Dialogue has gone on for a passage of two, but the Reporter considers it mere preliminary flourishing, and has not taken it down. Here is his first Note,—in the abridged lucidified state:[1]

Lord Whitlocke.—'Understands that the Committee is here only to receive what his Highness has to *offer*; such the letter and purport of our Instructions; which I now read. [*Reads it.*] Your Highness mentions "the Government that now is"; seems to hint thereby: The Government being well now, why change it? If that be your Highness's general objection, the Committee will give you satisfaction.'

The Lord Protector.—'Sir, I think both parties of us 'meet here with a very good heart to come to some issue in 'this great business; and truly that is what I have all the 'reason in the world to move me to. And I am exceeding 'ready to be ordered by you as to the manner of proceeding. 'Only I confess, according to the thoughts I have,—in prepar- 'ing my thoughts for so great a work, I formed this notion 'to myself: That the Parliament having already done me the 'honour of Two Conferences;[2] and now sent you again, their 'kind intention to me evidently is no other than this, That I 'should receive satisfaction. They might have been positive 'in the thing; might have declared their Address itself to be 'enough, and insisted upon Yes or No to that. But I per- 'ceive that it is really and sincerely the satisfaction of my 'doubts that they aim at; and there is one clause in the 'Paper itself, "quoted by my Lord Whitlocke," which doth a 'little warrant that: 'To offer such reasons for his satisfac- 'tion,' etc.—Now, Sir, it 's certain the occasion of all this

[1] *Somers Tracts*, vi. 352.

[2] Two Conferences with the whole Parliament; and one Conference with a Committee: Speeches vii. (31st March), ix. (8th April), and viii. (3d April).

'"Conference" is the Answer I already made; that's the 'occasion of your having to come hither again. And truly, 'Sir, I doubt whether by your plan——If you will *draw out* '*my reasons from me*, I will offer them to you: but on my 'own part, I doubt, if you should proceed that other way, it 'would a little put me out of the method of my own thoughts. 'And it being mutual satisfaction that is endeavoured, if you 'will do me the favour—['*To go by my method*,' *his Highness means; to* '*offer me* YOUR *Reasons, and* DRAW *me out, rather than oblige me to* COME *out*']—I shall take it as a 'favour, if it please you! I will leave you together to con-'sider your own thoughts of it. [*Motioning to go.*]'

LORD WHITLOCKE.—'This Committee, being sent to wait upon your Highness, I do suppose cannot undertake to give the *Parliament's* reasons for what the Parliament hath done. But any gentleman here may give for your Highness's satisfaction his own particular apprehension of them. And if you will be pleased to go in the way you have propounded, and on any point *require* a satisfaction from the Committee, I suppose we shall be ready to do the best we can to give you satisfaction.' [*Bar Practice! Is not yet what his Highness wants.*]

THE LORD PROTECTOR.—'If this be so, then I suppose 'nothing can be said by you but what the Parliament hath 'dictated to you?—However, I think it is clearly expressed 'that the Parliament intends satisfaction. Then it is *as* clear 'that there must be reasons and arguments which have light 'and conviction in them, in order to satisfaction! I speak 'for myself in this; I hope you will not take it otherwise.[1] 'I say it doth appear to me you have the liberty of giving 'your own reasons. If I should write down any of *them*, I 'could not call that 'the reason of Parliament.' [*Whitlocke*,

[1] As if I meant to dictate to you, or tutor you in your duties.

'*in a heavy manner, smiles respectful assent.*] But in Parliamentary and other such conclusions the efficient 'reason' is 'diffused over the general body, and every man hath his particular share of it; yet when they have determined such and 'such a thing, certainly it was reason that led them up into 'it. And if you shall be pleased to make me partaker of some 'of that 'reason'—!—I do very respectfully represent to you 'that I have a general dissatisfaction at the thing [*Glancing 'at the Engrossed Vellum; but meaning the Kingship*]; and 'do desire to be informed of the grounds that lead you, whom 'I presume to be all satisfied with it and with every part of 'it. And if you will be pleased, if you so think fit,—I will not 'urge it farther upon you,—to proceed in that way, it will be 'a favour to me. Otherwise, I deal plainly with you, it doth 'put me out of the method of my own conceptions: and in 'that case I shall beg that we may have an hour's deliberation, 'and meet again in the afternoon.'

Lord Chief-Justice Glynn,—one of the old expelled Eleven, whom we saw in great straits in 1647; a busy man from the beginning, and now again busy; begs to say in brief: 'The Parliament has sent us to give all the satisfaction which it is in our understandings to give. Certainly we will try to proceed according to what method your Highness finds best for that end. The Paper or Vellum Instrument, however, is general, consisting of many heads; and we can give but general satisfaction.'

The Lord Protector.—'If you will please to give me leave. '[*Clearing his throat to get under way.*] I do agree, truly, the 'thing is a general; for it either falls under the notion of 'Settlement, which is a general consisting of many particulars; 'or if you call it by the name it bears in the Paper, 'Petition 'and Advice,'—that again is a general; it is advice, desires 'and advice. What in it I have objected to is as yet, to say 'truth, but one thing. Only, the last time I had the honour

'to meet the Parliament,[1] I did offer to them that they might 'put me in the way of getting satisfaction as to particulars, '"any or all particulars." Now, no question I might easily 'offer something particular for debate, if I thought that would 'answer the end. [*What curious pickeering, flourishing, and fencing backwards and forwards, before the parties will come 'to close action! As in other affairs of courtship.*] For truly 'I know my end and yours is the same: To bring things to 'an issue one way or the other, that we may know where we 'are,—that we may attain the general end, which is Settle-'ment. [*Safe ground here, your Highness!*] The end is in 'us both! And I durst contend with any one person in the 'world that it is not more in his heart than in mine!——I 'would go into some particulars [*Especially one particular, the 'Kingship*], to ask a question, to ask a reason of the alteration '"made"; which might well enough let you into the business, '—that it might.[2] Yet, I say, it doth not answer me. [*I had counted on being drawn out, not on* COMING *out: I under-'stood I was the young lady, and* YOU *the wooer!*] I confess I 'did not so strictly examine the terms of your Order from the 'Parliament, "which my Lord Whitlocke cites"; whether I 'even read it or no I cannot tell.—[*Pause*].—If you will have 'it that way, I shall, as well as I can, make such an objection 'as may occasion some answer, "and so let us into the busi-'ness;"—though perhaps I shall object weakly enough! I 'shall very freely submit to you.'

GLYNN (with official solemnity). 'The Parliament hath sent us for that end, to give your Highness satisfaction.'

LORD COMMISSIONER FIENNES,—Nathaniel Fiennes, alias Fines alias Fenys, as he was once called when condemned to be shot for surrendering Bristol; second son of 'Old Subtlety' Say and Sele; and now again a busy man, and Lord Keeper, ——opens his broad jaw, and short snub face full of hard

[1] Wednesday last, 8th April; Speech IX.

[2] A favourite reduplication with his Highness; that it is!

sagacity,[1] to say: 'Looking upon the Order, I find that *we* may offer your Highness *our* reasons, if your Highness's dissatisfaction be to the alteration of the Government whether in general or in particular.'—So that his Highness may have it his own way, after all? Let us hope the preliminary flourishing is now near complete! His Highness would like well to have it his own way.

THE LORD PROTECTOR.—'I am very ready to say, I have 'no dissatisfaction that it hath pleased the Parliament to find 'out a way, though it be of alteration, for bringing these 'Nations into a good Settlement. Perhaps you may have 'judged the Settlement we hitherto had was not so favourable 'to the great end of Government, the Liberty and Good of 'the Nations, and the preservation of all honest Interests that 'have been engaged in this Cause. I say I have no objec-'tion to the general "fact," That the Parliament hath 'thought fit to take consideration of a new Settlement or 'Government. But you having done it in such way, and 'rendered me so far an interested party in it by making 'such an Overture to me [*As this of the Kingship, which 'modesty forbids me to mention*],—I shall be very glad "to 'learn," if you please to let me know it, besides the *pleasure* 'of the Parliament, somewhat of the *reason* they had for 'interesting me in this thing, by such an Overture.

'Truly I think I shall, as to the other particulars, have 'less to object.[2] I shall be very ready to specify objections, 'in order to clear for you whatsoever it may be better 'to clear; "in order" at least to help myself towards a 'clearer understanding of these things;—for better advantage '"to us all"; for that, I know, is in your hearts as well 'as mine. Though I cannot presume that I have anything 'to offer calculated to convince you; yet, if you will take 'it in good part, I shall offer somewhat to every particular.

[1] Good Portrait of him in Lord Nugent's *Memorials of Hampden*.

[2] 'shall, as to the other particulars, swallow this,' in orig.

'"And now," if you please,—As to the *first* of the things '[*Kingship*], I am clear as to the ground of the thing, being 'so put to me as it hath been put. And I think that some 'of the reasons which moved the Parliament to do it, would, '"if they were now stated to me," lead us into such objections 'or doubts as I may have to offer; and would be a very 'great help to me in that. And if you will have me offer 'this or that or the other doubt which may arise methodically, 'I shall do it.'

Whereupon LORD WHITLOCKE, summoning into his glassy coal-black eyes and ponderous countenance what animation is possible, lifts up his learned voice, and speaks several pages;[1] —which we abridge almost to nothing. In fact, the learned pleadings of these illustrious Official Persons, which once were of boundless importance, are now literally shrunk to zero for us; it is only his Highness's reply to them that is still something, and that not very much. Whitlocke intimates,

'That perhaps the former Instrument of Government having originated in the way it did, the Parliament considered it would be no worse for sanctioning by the Supreme Authority; such was their reason for taking it up. "Their intentions I suppose were" this and that, at some length. As for the new Title, that of *Protector* was not known to the Law; that of *King* is, and has been for many hundreds of years. If we keep the title of Protector, as I heard some argue, our Instrument has only its own footing to rest upon; but with that of *King*, "it will ground itself in all the ancient foundations of the Laws of England,"' etc. etc.

MASTER OF THE ROLLS,—old Sly-face Lenthall, once Speaker of the Long Parliament; the same whom Harrison helped out of his Chair,—him also the reader shall conceive speaking for the space of half an hour:

'"May it please your Highness," Hum-m-m! Drum-m-m! "Upon due consideration, you shall find that the whole body

[1] *Somers Tracts*, vi. 355.

of the Law is carried upon this wheel" of the Chief Magistrate being called King. Hum—m—m! [*Monotonous humming for ten minutes.*] "The title of Protector is not *limited* by any rule of Law that I understand"; the title of King is. Hum—m—m! King James wanted to change his Title, and that only from *King of England* to *King of Great Britain;* and the Parliament could not consent, so jealous were they of new titles bringing new unknown powers. Much depends upon a title! The Long Parliament once thought of changing its title to *Representative of the People*; but durst not. Hum—m—m! "*Nolumus Leges Angliæ mutari.*" Drum—m—m! "*Vox populi*: it is the voice of the Three Nations that offers your Highness this Title." Drum—m—m!' ——Such, in abbreviated shape, is the substance of Lenthall's Speech for us.[1] At the ending of it, a pause.

THE LORD PROTECTOR.—'I cannot deny but the things 'that have been spoken have been spoken with a great deal 'of weight. And it is not fit for me to ask any of you if 'you have a mind to speak farther of this. But if such had 'been your pleasure, truly then I think it would have put me 'into a way of more preparedness, according to the method 'and way I had conceived for myself, to return some answer. 'And if it had not been to you a trouble—Surely the 'business requires, from any man in the world in any case, 'and much more from me, that there be given to it serious 'and true answers! I mean such answers as are not feigned 'in my own thoughts; but such wherein I express the truth 'and honesty of my heart. [*Seems a tautology, and almost an impertinence, and ground of suspicion, your Highness; —but has perhaps a kind of meaning struggling half-developed in it. Many answers which call and even* THINK *themselves 'true' are but 'feigned in one's own thoughts,' after all; from that to 'the truth and honesty of heart' is still a great way;—witness many men in most times; wit-*

[1] *Somers*, vi. 356-7.

'*ness almost all men in such times as ours.*] That is what 'I mean by true answers.

'I did hope that when I had heard you, so far as it might 'be your pleasure to speak on this head, I should then, 'having taken some short note of it as I do [*Glancing at 'his Note paper*], have been in a condition, this afternoon '[*Would still fain be off!*]—if it had not been a trouble 'to you,—to return my answer, upon a little advisement 'with myself. But seeing you have not thought it con-'venient to proceed that way,—truly I think I may very 'well say, I shall need to have a little thought about the 'thing before returning answer to it: lest our Debate should 'end on my part with a very vain discourse, and with lightness; 'as it is very like to do. [*A Drama* COMPOSING *itself as it gets* ACTED, *this; very different from the blank-verse Dramas.*]

'I say therefore, if you had found good to proceed farther 'in speaking of these things, I should have made my own 'short animadversions on the whole, this afternoon, and have 'made some short reply. And this would have ushered me 'in not only to give the best answer I could, but to make my 'own objections "too."' [*An interrogative look; evidently some of us must speak! Glynn steps forward.*]

LORD CHIEF-JUSTICE GLYNN steps forward, speaks largely; then SIR CHARLES WOLSELEY steps forward; and NATHANIEL FIENNES steps forward; and LORD BROGHIL (Earl of Orrery that is to be) steps forward; and all speak largely: whom, not to treat with the indignity poor Lenthall got from us, we shall abridge down to *absolute* nothing. Good speaking too; but without interest for us. In fact it is but repetition, under new forms, of the old considerations offered by heavy Bulstrode and the Master of the Rolls. The only idea of the slightest novelty is this brought forward by Lord Broghil in the rear of all.[1]

LORD BROGHIL. 'By an Act already existing (the 11th of

[1] *Somers*, p. 363.

Henry VII.), all persons that obey a "King *de facto*" are to be held guiltless; not so if they serve a Protector *de facto*. Think of this.—And then "in the 7th and last place," I observe: The Imperial Crown of this country and the Pretended King are indeed divorced; nevertheless persons divorced may come together again; but if the person divorced be married to another, there is no chance left of that!'— —

Having listened attentively to perhaps some three hours of this, his Highness, giving up the present afternoon as now hopeless, makes brief answer.

THE LORD PROTECTOR. 'I have very little to say to you at 'this time. I confess I shall never be willing to deny or 'defer those things[1] that come from the Parliament to the 'Supreme Magistrate [*He accepts, then?*], if they come in the 'bare and naked authority of such an Assembly as is known 'by that name, and is the Representative of so many people 'as a Parliament of England, Scotland, and Ireland is. I say, 'this ought to have its weight; and it hath so, and ever will 'have with me.

'In all things a man is free to grant desires coming from 'Parliament. I may say, inasmuch as the Parliament hath 'condescended so far as to do me this honour (a very great 'one added to the rest) of giving me the privilege of counsel 'from so many members of theirs, so able, so intelligent of 'the grounds of things—[*Sentence breaks down*]—This is, I 'say, a very singular honour and favour to me; and I wish 'I may do, and I hope I shall do, what becomes an honest 'man in giving an answer to these things,—according to such 'insight[2] either as I have, or as God shall give me, or as I 'may be helped into by reasoning with you. But indeed I 'did not in vain allege conscience in the first answer I gave 'you. [*Well!*] For I must say, I should be a person very 'unworthy of such favour if I should prevaricate in saying

[1] Means 'anything,—the Kingship for one thing.'

[2] 'desire' in orig.: but there is no sense in that.

'things did stick upon my conscience. Which I must still 'say they do! Only, I must "also" say, I am in the best 'way I could be "in" for information; and I shall gladly 'receive it.

'Here have been divers things spoken by you today, with 'a great deal of judgment and ability and knowledge. I 'think the arguments and reasonings that have been used 'were upon these three heads:[1] *First*, Speaking to the thing 'simply, to the abstract notion of the Title, and to the posi-'tive reasons upon which it stands. Then "*secondly*, Speaking" 'comparatively of it, and of the foundation of it; in order 'to show the goodness of it comparatively, "in comparison 'with our present title and foundation." It is alleged to be 'so much better than what we now have; and that *it* will do 'the work which this other fails in. And *thirdly*, Some things 'have been said by way of precaution; which are not argu-'ments from the thing itself, but are considerations drawn 'from the temper of the English People, what will gratify 'them, "and so on";—which is surely considerable. As also '"some things were said" by way of anticipation of me in 'my answer; speaking to some objections which others have 'made against this proposal. These are things, in themselves, 'each of them considerable. [*The "objections?" or the "Three heads" in general? Uncertain; nay it is perhaps uncertain to Oliver himself! He mainly means the objections, but the other also is hovering in his head,—as is sometimes the way with him.*]

'To answer objections, I know, is a very weighty business; 'and to make objections is very easy; and that will fall to 'my part. And I am sure I shall make them to men who 'know somewhat how to answer them,—"to whom they are 'not strange," having already in part been suggested to them 'by the Debates already had.

'But upon the whole matter, I having as well as I could 'taken those things [*Looking at his Notes*] that have been

[1] 'accounts' in orig.

'spoken,—which truly are to be acknowledged as very 'learnedly spoken,—I hope you will give me a little time to 'consider of them. As to when it may be the best time for 'me to return hither and meet you again, I shall leave that 'to your consideration.'

LORD WHITLOCKE. 'Your Highness will be pleased to appoint your own time.'

THE LORD PROTECTOR. 'On Monday at nine of the clock 'I will be ready to wait upon you.' *

And so, with many bows, *exeunt*.—Thus they, doing their epic feat, not in the hexameter measure, on that old Saturday forenoon, 11th April 1657; old London, old England, sounding manifoldly round them;—the Fifth-Monarchy just locked in the Tower.

Our learned friend Bulstrode says: 'The Protector often advised about this' of the Kingship 'and other great businesses with the Lord Broghil, Pierpoint' (Earl of Kingston's Brother, an old Long-Parliament man, of whom we have heard before), with 'Whitlocke, Sir Charles Wolseley, and Thurloe; and would be shut up three or four hours together in private discourse, and none were admitted to come in to him. He would sometimes be very cheerful with them; and laying aside his greatness, he would be exceedingly familiar; and by way of diversion would make verses with them,' play at crambo with them, 'and every one must try his fancy. He commonly called for tobacco, pipes and a candle, and would now and then take tobacco himself;' which was a very high attempt. 'Then he would fall again to his serious and great business' of the Kingship; 'and advise with them in those affairs. And this he did often with them; and their counsel was accepted, and' in part 'followed by him in most of his greatest affairs,'—as well as it deserved to be.[1]

* *Somers Tracts*, vi. 351-365.

[1] Whitlocke, p. 647.

SPEECHES XI—XIV

On Monday April 13th, at Whitehall, at nine in the morning,[1] according to agreement on Saturday last, the Committee of Ninety-nine attend his Highness, and his Highness there speaks:—addressing Whitlocke as reporter of the said Committee.

SPEECH XI

'My Lord,—I think I have a very hard task on my hand. 'Though it be but to give an account of *myself*, yet I see I 'am beset on all hands here. I say, but to give an account 'of 'myself': yet that is a business very comprehensive of 'others;—"comprehending" us all in some sense, and, as the 'Parliament have been pleased to shape it, comprehending all 'the interests of these Three Nations!

'I confess I have two things in view. The *first* is, To 'return some answer to what was so well and ably said the 'other day on behalf of the Parliament's putting that Title 'in the Instrument of Settlement. [*This is the First thing; 'what the Second is, does not yet for a long while appear.*] I 'hope it will not be expected I should answer everything 'that was then said: because I suppose the main things that 'were spoken were arguments from ancient Constitutions and 'Settlements by the Laws; in which I am sure I could never 'be well skilled,—and therefore must the more ask pardon 'for what I have already transgressed "in speaking of such 'matters," or shall now transgress, through my ignorance of 'them, in my "present" answer to you.

'Your arguments, which I say were chiefly upon the Law, 'seem to carry with them a great deal of necessary conclusive-'ness, to inforce that one thing of Kingship. And if your 'arguments come upon me to inforce upon me the ground of

[1] at 'eight,' say the *Journals*, vii. 522.

'Necessity,—why, then, I have no room to answer: for what 'must be must be! And therefore I did reckon it much of 'my business to consider whether there *were* such a necessity, 'or would arise such a necessity, from those arguments.—It 'was said: 'Kingship is not a Title, but an Office, so inter-'woven with the fundamental Laws of this Nation, that they 'cannot, or cannot well, be executed and exercised without '"it,"—partly, if I may say so, upon a supposed ignorance 'which the Law hath of any other Title. It knows no other; 'neither doth any know another. And, by reciprocation,—'this said Title, or Name, or Office, you were farther pleased 'to say, is understood; in the dimensions of it, in the power 'and prerogatives of it; which are by the Law made certain; 'and the Law can tell when it [*Kingship*] keeps within com-'pass, and when it exceeds its limits. And the Law knowing 'this, the People can know it also. And the People do love 'what they know. And it will neither be *pro salute populi*, 'nor for our safety, to obtrude upon the People what they do 'not nor cannot understand.'

'It was said also, 'That the People have always, by their 'representatives in Parliament, been unwilling to vary Names, '—seeing they love settlement and known names, as was said 'before.' And there were two good instances given of that: 'the one, in King James's time, about his desire to alter 'somewhat of the Title: and the other in the Long Par-'liament, where they being otherwise rationally moved to 'adopt the word 'Representative' instead of 'Parliament,' 'refused it for the same reason. [*Lenthall tries to blush.*]—'It was said also, 'That the holding to this word doth 'strengthen the "new" Settlement; for hereby there is not 'anything *de novo* done, but merely things are revolved into 'their old current.' It was said, 'That it is the security of 'the Chief Magistrate, and that it secures all who act under 'him.'—Truly these are the principal of those grounds that 'were offered the other day, so far as I do recollect.

'I cannot take upon me to refel those grounds; they are

'so strong and rational. But if I am to be able to make 'any answer to them, I must not grant that they are neces- 'sarily conclusive; I must take them only as arguments which 'perhaps have in them much conveniency, much probability 'towards conclusiveness. For if a remedy or expedient may 'be found, they are not *of necessity*, they are not inevitable 'grounds: and if not necessary or concluding grounds, why 'then they will hang upon the reason of expediency or con- 'veniency. And if so, I shall have a little liberty "to 'speak"; otherwise I am concluded before I speak.—There- 'fore it will behove me to say what I can, Why these are 'not *necessary* reasons; why they are not—why *it*[1] is not (I '*should* say) so interwoven in the Laws but that the Laws 'may still be executed as justly, and as much to the satis- 'faction of the people, and answering all objections equally 'well, without such a Title as with it. And then, when I 'have done that, I shall only take the liberty to say a word 'or two for my own grounds.[2] And when I have said what 'I can say as to that "latter point,"—I hope you will *think* 'a great deal more than I say. [*Not convenient to* SPEAK *everything in so ticklish a predicament; with Deputations of a Hundred Officers, and so many 'scrupulous fellows, considerable in their own conceit,' glaring into the business, with eyes much sharper than they are deep!*]

'Truly though Kingship be not a "mere" Title, but the 'Name of an Office which runs through the "whole of the" 'Law; yet is it not so *ratione nominis*, by reason of the name, 'but by reason of what the name signifies. It is a Name of 'Office plainly implying a Supreme Authority: is it more; 'or can it be stretched to more? I say, it is a Name of

[1] The Kingship: his Highness finds that the grammar will require to be attended to.

[2] 'Grounds' originating with myself independently of yours. Is this 'the second' thing, which his Highness had in view, but did not specify after the 'first,' when he started? The issue proves it to be so.

'Office, plainly implying the Supreme Authority: and if so, 'why then I should suppose,—I am not peremptory in any-'thing that is matter of deduction or inference of my own,— 'but I should suppose that whatsoever name hath been or 'shall be the Name under which the Supreme Authority 'acts— [*Sentence abruptly stops; the conclusion being visible 'without speech!*] Why, I say, if it had been those Four or 'Five Letters, or whatever else it had been—! That signi-'fication goes to the *thing*, certainly it does; and not to the 'name. [*Certainly!*] Why, then, there can no more be said 'but this: As such a Title hath been fixed, so it may be 'unfixed. And certainly in the right of the Authority, I 'mean the Legislative Power,—in the right of the Legis-'lative Power, I think the Authority that could christen it 'with such a name could have called it by another name. 'Therefore the name is only derived from that "Authority." 'And certainly they, "the primary Legislative Authority," 'had the disposal of it, and might have detracted "from it," 'changed "it":—and I hope it will be no offence to say to 'you, as the case now stands, 'So may you.' And if it be so 'that you may, why then I say, there is nothing of *necessity* 'in your argument; and all turns on consideration of the expedience of it. [*Is the Kingship expedient?*]

'Truly I had rather, if I were to choose, if it were the 'original question,—which I hope is altogether *out* of the 'question [*His Highness means, afar off, in a polite manner,* 'You *don't pretend that I still need to be made Protector by 'you or by any creature*'!],—I had rather have any Name 'from this Parliament than any other Name without it: so 'much do I value the authority of the Parliament. And I 'believe all men are of my mind in that; I believe the Nation 'is very much of my mind,—though it be an uncertain way 'of arguing, *what* mind *they* are of.[1] I think we may say it 'without offence; for I would give none! [*No offence to you,*

[1] Naturally a delicate subject: some assert the Nation has never recognised his Highness,—his Highness himself being of a very different opinion indeed!

Honourable Gentlemen; who are here, by function, to interpret and signify the Mind of the Nation. It is very difficult to do!]—Though the Parliament be the truest way to know 'what the mind of the Nation is, yet if the Parliament will 'be pleased to give me a liberty to reason for myself; and if 'that be one of your arguments—['*That*': *what, your Highness? That the mind of the Nation, well interpreted by this Parliament, is really for a King? That our Laws cannot go on without a King?—His Highness means the former mainly, but means the latter too; means several things together, as his manner sometimes is, in abstruse cases!*]—I hope I may 'urge against it, that the reason of my own mind is not quite 'to that effect. But I do say undoubtingly (let us think 'about other things, "about the mind of the Nation and 'suchlike," what we will), What the Parliament settles is 'what will run, "and have currency," through the Law; and 'will lead the thread of Government through this Land 'equally well as what hath been. For I consider that what 'hath been was upon the same account, "by the same autho-'rity." Save that there hath been some long continuance of 'the thing [*This thing of Kingship*], it is but upon the same 'account! It had its original somewhere! And it was with 'consent of the whole,—there is the original of it. And 'consent of the whole will "still," I say, be the needle that 'will lead the thread through all [*The same tailor-metaphor a second time*];—and I think no man will pretend right against 'it, or wrong!

'And if so, then, under favour to me, I think these argu-'ments from the Law are all *not* as of *necessity*, but are to be 'understood as of *conveniency*. It is in your power to dis-'pose and settle; and beforehand we can have confidence that 'what you do settle will be as authentic as the things that 'were of old,—especially as this individual thing, the Name 'or Title,—according to the Parliament's appointment. "Is 'not this so? It is question not of necessity; we have power 'to settle it as conveniency directs." Why then, there will

'(with leave) be way made for me to offer a reason or two to 'the other considerations you adduced; otherwise, I say my 'mouth is stopped! [*His Highness is plunging in deep brakes and imbroglios; hopes, however, that he now sees daylight athwart them.*]

'There are very many inforcements to carry on this thing. '[*Thing of the Kingship.*] But I suppose it will "have to" 'stand on its expediency—Truly I should have urged one 'consideration more which I forgot [*Looks over his shoulder 'in the jungle, and bethinks him!*],—namely, the argument 'not of reason only, but of *experience*. It is a short one, but 'it is a true one (under favour), and is known to you all in 'the fact of it (under favour) [*A damnable iteration; but too 'characteristic to be omitted*]: That the Supreme Authority 'going by *another* Name and under another Title than that 'of King hath been, why it hath been already twice complied-'with! [*Long Parliament, called 'Keepers of the Liberties of England,' found compliance; and now the 'Protectorate' 'finds.*] "Twice": under the *Custodes Libertatis Angliæ*, 'and also since I exercised the place, it hath been complied-'with. And truly I may say that almost universal obedience 'hath been given by all ranks and sorts of men to both. 'Now this, "on the part of both these Authorities," was a 'beginning with the highest degree of Magistracy at the first 'alteration; and "at a time" when that "Kingship" was 'the Name "established": and the new Name, though it 'was the name of an invisible thing, the very Name, I say, 'was obeyed, did pass current, was received and did carry-on 'the "Public" Justice of the Nation. I remember very well, 'my Lords the Judges were somewhat startled: yet upon 'consideration,—if I mistake not,—I believe so,—they, there 'being among them (without reflection) as able and as learned 'as have sat there,—though they did, I confess, at first, 'demur a little,—*they* did receive satisfaction, and did act, as 'I said before. [*Untwist this extraordinary* WITHE *of a sentence; you will find it not inextricable, and very characteristic*

'*of Oliver!*] And as for my own part [*My own Protectorate*], 'I profess I think I may say: Since the beginning of *that* 'change,—though I should be loath to speak anything vainly, '—but since the beginning of that change to this day, I do 'not think there hath been a freer procedure of the Laws, 'not even in those years called, and not unworthily, the '"Halcyon Days of Peace,"—from the Twentieth of Elizabeth 'to King James's and King Charles's time. I do not think 'but the Laws have proceeded with as much freedom and 'justice, and with less of private solicitation, since I came to 'the Government, as they did in those years so named,— '"Halcyon." I do not think, under favour,—[*His Highness 'gets more emphatic*]—that the Laws had a freer exercise, 'more uninterrupted by any hand of Power, in those years 'than now; or that the Judge has been less solicited by letters 'or private interpositions either of my own or other men's, in '*double* so many years in all those times "named" 'of 'Peace!' [*Sentence involving an incurable Irish-bull; the head of it eating the tail of it, like a Serpent-of-Eternity; but the meaning shining very clear through its contortions nevertheless!*] And if more of my Lords the Judges were here than 'now are, they could tell us perhaps somewhat farther.[1]—— 'And therefore I say, under favour: These two Experiences 'do manifestly show that it is not a *Title*, though never so 'interwoven with our Laws, that makes the Law to have its 'free passage, and to do its office without interruption (as we 'venture to think it is now doing): "not a Title, no"; and 'if a Parliament shall determine that another Name run 'through the Laws, I believe it will run with as free a passage 'as this "of King ever did." Which is all I have to say 'upon that head.

'And if this be so, then truly other things may fall under 'a more indifferent consideration[2]: and so I shall arrive "at

[1] Reform of Chancery; improvements made in Law.

[2] 'Other things,' your other arguments, may lose a great deal of their formidable air of cogency, as if Necessity herself were backing them.

'the Second thing I had in view," at some issue of answering 'for *myself* in this great matter. And all this while, nothing 'that I say doth any way determine as to my final resolution, 'or "intimate any" thought against the Parliament's wisdom 'in this matter; but "endeavoureth" really and honestly and 'plainly towards such an answer as may be fit for me to give. 'The Parliament desires to have this Title. It hath stuck 'with me, and doth yet stick. As truly, and I hinted the 'other day,[1] it seemed as if your arguments to me did partly 'give positive grounds for what was to be done, and partly 'comparative grounds; stating the matter as you were then 'pleased to do,—for which I gave no cause that I know 'of, that is, for comparing the effects of Kingship with those 'of such a Name as I at present bear, with "those of" 'the Protectorship "to wit." I say, I hope it will not be 'understood that I contend for the Name; or for any name, 'or any thing "of a merely extraneous nature"; but truly 'and plainly "for the substance of the business,"—if I speak 'as in the Lord's presence; ay, in all right things, as a person 'under the disposal of the Providence of God,—neither '"naming" one thing nor other; but only endeavouring to 'give fit answer as to this proposed Name or Title.[2] For I 'hope I do not desire to give a rule to anybody—"much less 'to the Parliament." I professed I had not been able,—and 'I truly profess I have not yet been able,—to give a rule to 'myself "in regard to your Proposal." I would be under-'stood in this. [*Yes, your Highness.* '*That it is not doubt of the Parliament's wisdom; that it is not vain preference or postponence of one "name" to another; but doubt as to the substantial expediency of the thing proposed, uncertainty as to God's will and monition in regard to it,—that has made and still makes me speak in this uncomfortable, haggling,*

[1] Saturday last, day before Yesterday.

[2] The original (*Somers*, vi. 368) unintelligible, illegible except with the powerfulest *lenses*, yields at last,—with some slight changes of the points and so forth, —this sense as struggling at the bottom of it.

struggling and wriggling manner. It is no easy thing forcing one's way through a jungle of such depth! An affair of Courtship moreover, which grows and has to grow by the very handling of it! I would not be misunderstood in this.']

'I am a man standing in the Place I am in [*Clearly, your* '*Highness*]; which Place I undertook not so much out of hope 'of doing any good, as out of a desire to prevent mischief 'and evil [*Note this*],—which I did see was imminent on the 'Nation. I say, we were running headlong into confusion 'and disorder, and would necessarily "have" run into blood; 'and I was passive to those that desired me to undertake 'the Place which I now have. [*With tones, with a look of* '*sorrow, solemnity and nobleness; the brave Oliver!*] A Place, 'I say, not so much of doing good,—which a man lawfully '*may*, if he deal deliberately with God and his own con-'science,—a man *may* (I say) lawfully, if he deal deliberately 'with God and his own conscience; a man may lawfully, as 'the case may be (though it is a very tickle case), desire a 'Place to do good in! [*Window once more into his High-ness! 'Tickle' is the old form of* TICKLISH: '*a tickle case indeed,*' *his Highness candidly allows; yet a case which does occur,—shame and woe to him, the poor cowardly Pedant, tied up in cobwebs and tape-thrums, that neglects it when it does!*] 'I profess I had not that apprehension, when I undertook the 'Place, that I could so much do good; but I did think I 'might prevent imminent evil.—And therefore I am not con-'tending for one 'name' compared with another;—and there-'fore have nothing to answer to any arguments that were used 'for preferring "the name" Kingship to Protectorship. For 'I should almost think any 'name' were better than my 'Name; and I should altogether think any person fitter than 'I am for such business [*Your Highness?—But St. Paul too professed himself 'the chief of sinners,'—and has not been 'altogether thought to 'cant' in doing so!*];—and I compli-'ment not, God knows it! But this I should say, that I do 'think, you, in the settling of the peace and liberties of this

'Nation, which cries as loud upon you as ever Nation did for 'somewhat that may beget a consistence, "ought to attend to 'that"; otherwise the Nation will fall in pieces! And in 'that, so far as I can, I am ready to serve not as a King, but as 'a Constable "if you like"! For truly I have, as before God, 'often thought that I could not tell what my business was, 'nor what I was in the place I stood in, save comparing 'myself to a good Constable set to keep the peace of the 'Parish. [*Hear his Highness!*] And truly this hath been 'my content and satisfaction in the troubles I have undergone, 'That you yet have peace.

'Why now, truly,—if I may advise,—I wish to God you 'may but be so happy as to keep the peace still![1] If you 'cannot attain to such perfection as to accomplish this "that 'we are now upon," I wish to God we may still have peace, '—that I do! But the 'fruits of righteousness' are shown 'in 'meekness'; a better thing than we are aware of!— — 'I say therefore, I do judge for myself there is no such 'necessity of this Name of King; for the other Names may 'do as well. I judge for myself. I must say a little (I think 'I have somewhat of conscience to answer as to the matter), 'why I cannot undertake this Name. [*We are now fairly 'entered upon the Second head of method.*] And truly I must 'needs go a little out of the way, to come to my reasons. 'And you will be able to judge of them when I have told you 'them. And I shall deal seriously, as before God.

'If you do not all of you, I am sure some of you do, and 'it behoves me to say that I do, 'know my calling from the 'first to this day.' I was a person who, from my first 'employment, was suddenly preferred and lifted up from lesser 'trusts to greater; from my first being a Captain of a Troop 'of Horse; and did labour as well as I could to discharge 'my trust; and God blessed me "therein" as it pleased 'Him. And I did truly and plainly,—and in a way of foolish

[1] If I may advise, I should say the purport and soul of our whole inquiry at present ought to be that of keeping the peace.

'simplicity, as it was judged by very great and wise men, 'and good men too,—desire to make my instruments help me 'in that work. And I will deal plainly with you: I had a very 'worthy Friend then; and he was a very noble person, and 'I know his memory is very grateful to all,—Mr. John Hamp- 'den. [*Hear, hear;—a notable piece of History!*] At my first 'going out into this engagement,[1] I saw our men were beaten 'at every hand. I did indeed; and desired him that he 'would make some additions to my Lord Essex's Army, of 'some new regiments; and I told him I would be serviceable 'to him in bringing such men in as I thought had a spirit 'that would do something in the work. This is very true 'that I tell you; God knows I lie not.[2] 'Your troops,' said 'I, 'are most of them old decayed serving-men, and tapsters, 'and such kind of fellows; and' said I, 'their troops are 'gentlemen's sons, younger sons and persons of quality: do 'you think that the spirits of such base and mean fellows 'will ever be able to encounter gentlemen, that have honour 'and courage and resolution in them?' Truly I did repre- 'sent to him in this manner conscientiously; and truly I did 'tell him: 'You must get men of a spirit: and take it not ill 'what I say,—I know you will not,—of a spirit that is likely 'to go on as far as gentlemen will go:—or else you will be 'beaten still.' I told him so; I did truly. He was a wise 'and worthy person; and he did think that I talked a good 'notion, but an impracticable one. [*Very natural in Mr. Hampden, if I recollect him well, your Highness! With his close thin lips, and very vigilant eyes; with his clear official understanding; lively sensibilities to 'unspotted character,' 'safe courses,' etc., etc. A very brave man; but formidably thick-quilted, and with pincer-lips, and eyes very vigilant.—Alas, there is no possibility for poor Columbus at any of the*

[1] enterprise.

[2] A notable clause of a sentence, this latter too; physiognomic enough;—and perhaps very liable to be misunderstood by a modern reader. The old phrase, still current in remote quarters, 'It 's no lie,' which signifies an emphatic and even courteous assent and affirmation, must be borne in mind.

Public Offices, till once he become an Actuality, and say, '*Here* is *the America I was telling you of!*'] Truly I told 'him I could *do* somewhat in it. I did so,—"did this 'somewhat": and truly I must needs say this to you, "The 'result was,"—impute it to what you please,—I raised such 'men as had the fear of God before them, as made some 'conscience of what they did [*The Ironsides; yea!*]; and 'from that day forward, I must say to you, they were never 'beaten, and wherever they were engaged against the enemy, 'they beat continually. [*Yea!*] And truly this is matter of 'praise to God:—and it hath some instruction in it, To own 'men who are religious and godly. And so many of them as 'are peaceably and honestly and quietly disposed to live 'within "rules of" Government, and will be subject to those 'Gospel rules of obeying Magistrates and living under Autho-'rity—[*Sentence catches fire abruptly, and explodes here*]—I 'reckon no Godliness without that circle! Without that 'spirit, let it pretend what it will, it is diabolical, it is 'devilish, it is from diabolical spirits, from the depth of 'Satan's wickedness[1]—[*Checks himself*]—Why truly I need 'not say more than to apply all this[2] "to the business we 'have in hand."

'I will be bold to apply this to our present purpose, because it is my all! I could say as all the world says, and run headily upon anything; but I must tender this, "my 'present answer" to you as a thing that sways upon my con-'science; or else I were a knave and a deceiver. "Well"; I 'tell you there are such men in this Nation; godly men of 'the same spirit, men that will not be beaten down by a 'worldly or carnal spirit while they keep their integrity. And 'I deal plainly and faithfully with you, "when I say": I can-

[1] Not 'height of Jotham's wickedness,' as the lazy Reporter has it. Jotham was not 'wicked' at all (Judges, chap. ix.). Nay the lazy Reporter corrects himself elsewhere,—if he had not been asleep! Compare p. 369 line 16 of *Somers* with p. 385 line 2.

[2] 'this' of my old proposal to Mr. Hampden; and how good it is to 'own men who are religious and godly.'

'not think that God would bless an undertaking of anything, '"Kingship or whatever else,' which would, justly and with 'cause, grieve *them.* True, they may be troubled *without* 'cause;—and I must be a slave if I should comply with any 'such humour as that. [*Leaves the matter open still!*] But I 'say there are honest men and faithful men, true to the great 'things of the Government, namely the Liberty of the People, 'giving them what is due to them, and protecting this Interest '(and I think verily God will bless you for what you have 'done in that)—[*Sentence broken; try it another way*]— 'But if I know, as indeed I do, that very generally good 'men do not swallow this Title,—though really it is no part 'of their goodness to be unwilling to submit to what a Parlia-'ment shall settle over them, yet I must say, it is my duty 'and my conscience to beg of you that there may be no hard 'things put upon me; things, I mean, hard to *them*, which 'they cannot swallow. [*The Young Lady will and she will 'not!*] If the Nation may be as well provided-for without 'these things we have been speaking of [*Kingships, etc.*], as, 'according to my apprehension, it may,—"then" truly I 'think it will be no sin in you, it will be to you as it was to 'David in another case,[1] 'no grief of heart in time coming,' 'that you have a tenderness even possibly (if it be their weak-'ness) to the weakness of those who have integrity and honesty 'and uprightness, and who are not carried away with the 'hurries I see some taken with—['*A Standard lifted up,*' *the other day!—We have had to turn the key upon them, in 'Chepstow, in the Tower and elsewhere*],—that think their 'virtue lies in despising Authority, in opposing it! I think 'you will be the better able to root-out of this Nation that '"disobedient" spirit and principle,—and to do so is as 'desirable as anything in this world,—by complying, indulg-'ing, and being patient to the weakness and infirmities of men 'who have been faithful, and have bled all along in this 'Cause;—and who *are* faithful, and will oppose all opposi-

[1] Nabal's and Abigail's case (1 Samuel xxv. 31).

'tions (I am confident of it) to the things that are Funda-
'mentals in your Government, in your Settlement for Civil
'and Gospel Liberties. [*Not ill said, your Highness; and really could not well be better thought!—The moral is: 'As my old Ironsides, men fearing God, proved the successful soldiers; so in all things it is men fearing God that we must get to enlist with us. Without these we are lost: with these, if they will be soldiers with us (not noisy mutineers like Wildman, Harrison and Company, but true soldiers, rational persons that will learn discipline),—we shall, as heretofore, hope to prevail against the whole world and the Devil to boot, and "never be beaten at all," no more than the Ironsides were. See, therefore, that you do not disaffect* THEM. *Mount no foolish cockade or Kingship which can convert* THEM, *rational obedient men, true in all essential points, into mutineers.*']

'I confess, for it behoves me to deal plainly with you—[*Young Lady now flings a little weight into the other scale,—and the sentence trips itself once or twice before it can get started*]
'—I must confess I would say—I hope I may not be mis-
'understood in this, for indeed I must be tender in what I
'say to such an audience:—I say I would have it understood,
'That in this argument I do not make a parallel between
'men of a different mind, "mere dissentient individuals," and
'a Parliament, "as to," Which shall have their desires. I
'know there is no comparison. Nor can it be urged upon
'me that my words have the least colour that way. For the
'Parliament seems to have given me liberty to say whatever
'is on my mind to you; as that "indeed" is a tender of my
'humble reasons and judgment and opinion to *them*: and
'now if I think these objectors to the Kingship[1] are such
'"as I describe," and "that they" will be such; "if I think"
'that they are faithful servants and will be so to the Supreme
'Authority, and the Legislative wheresoever it is,—if, I say,
'I should *not* tell you, knowing their minds to be so, then
'I should not be faithful. I am bound to tell it you, to the

[1] 'they' in orig.

'end you may report it to the Parliament. [*Parliament very jealous lest the Army be thought of greater weight than it. We try to carry the scales even.*]

'I will now say something for *myself.* As for my own 'mind, I do profess it, I am not a man scrupulous about 'words, or names, or such things. I have not "hitherto clear 'direction"[1]—but as I have the Word of God, and I hope 'shall ever have, for the rule of my conscience, for my 'information and direction; so, truly, if men have been led 'into dark paths [*As this matter of the Kingship is to 'me even now; very 'dark' and undecidable!*] through the 'providence and dispensations of God,—why surely it is not 'to be objected to a man! For who can *love* to walk in 'the dark? But Providence doth often so dispose. And 'though a man may impute his own folly and blindness 'to Providence *sinfully*,—yet this must be at a man's own 'peril. The case may *be* that it is the Providence of God 'that doth lead men in darkness! I must needs say, I 'have had a great deal of experience of Providence; and 'though such experience is no rule without or against the 'Word, yet it is a very good expositor of the Word in 'many cases. [*Yes, my brave one!*]

'Truly the Providence of God hath laid aside this-Title 'of King providentially *de facto:* and that not by sudden 'humour or passion; but it hath been by issue of as great 'deliberation as ever was in a Nation. It hath been by 'issue of Ten or Twelve Years Civil War, wherein much 'blood hath been shed. I will not dispute the justice of 'it when it was done; nor need I tell you what my opinion 'is in the case were it *de novo* to be done. [*Somewhat 'grim expression of face, your Highness!*] But if it be 'at all disputable; and a man comes and finds that God 'in His severity hath not only eradicated a whole Family, 'and thrust them out of the land, for reasons best known

[1] Coagulated Jargon, (*Somers*, p. 370) is almost worth looking at here:—never was such a Reporter since the Tower of Babel fell.

'to Himself, but also hath made the issue and close of that 'to be the very eradication of a Name or Title — ! Which 'de facto is "the case." It was not done by me, nor by them 'that tendered me the Government I now act in: it was done 'by the Long Parliament,—that was it.[1] And God hath 'seemed Providential, "seemed to appear as a Providence," 'not only in striking at the Family but at the Name. And, 'as I said before, it is blotted out: it is a thing cast out 'by an Act of Parliament; it hath been kept out to this 'day. And as Jude saith, in another case, speaking of 'abominable sins that should be in the Latter Times,[2]— 'he doth farther say, when he comes to exhort the Saints, 'he tells them,—they should 'hate even the *garments* spotted 'with the flesh.'[3]

'I beseech you think not that I bring this as an argu- 'ment to prove anything. God hath seemed so to deal with 'the Persons and the Family that He blasted the very 'Title. And you know when a man comes, *a parte post*, 'to reflect and see this *done*, this Title laid in the dust,— 'I confess I can come to no other conclusion. ['*But that God seems to have blasted the very Title*';—*this, however*, '*is felt to need some qualifying*.] The like of this may make 'a strong impression upon such weak men as I am;—and 'perhaps upon weaker men (if there be any such) it will 'make a stronger. I will not seek to set up that which 'Providence hath destroyed, and laid in the dust; I would 'not build Jericho again! And this is somewhat to me, 'and to my judgment and my conscience. This, in truth, 'it is this that hath an awe upon my spirit. [*Hear!*] And 'I must confess, as the times are,—they are very fickle, very 'uncertain, nay, God knows you had need have a great deal 'of faith to strengthen you in your work, you had need look

[1] Oliverian reduplication of the phrase: accent on *was*.

[2] Very familiar with this passage of Jude; see Speech II. vol. iii. p. 109.

[3] Grammar a little imperfect. Really one begins to find Oliver would, as it were, have needed a *new* Grammar. Had all men been *Olivers*, what a different set of *rules* would Lindley Murray and the Governesses now have gone upon!

'at Settlement!—I would rather I were in my grave than 'hinder you in anything that may be for Settlement of the 'Nation. For the Nation needs it, never needed it more! 'And therefore, out of the love and honour I bear you, I am 'forever bound, whatever becomes of me, to do "what is 'best for that";—"and" I am forever bound to acknowledge 'you have dealt most honourably and worthily with me, and 'lovingly, and have had respect for one who deserves nothing.

'Indeed, out of the love and faithfulness I bear you, and 'out of the sense I have of the difficulty of your work, I 'would not have you lose *any* help [*Help of the Name 'King'; help of the scrupulous Anti-King people:—it is a dark case!*] 'that may serve you, that may stand in stead to you. I 'would willingly be a sacrifice [*King, Protector, Constable, or 'what you like*], that there might be, so long as God shall 'please to let this Parliament sit, a harmony, and better and 'good understanding between all of you. And,—whatever 'any man may think,—it equally concerns one of us as 'another to go on to Settlement: and where I meet with 'any that is of another mind, indeed I could almost curse 'him in my heart. And therefore, to deal heartily and 'freely, I would have you lose nothing [*Not even the Scrupu-'lous*] that may stand you in stead in this way. I would 'advise, if there be "found" any of a froward, unmannerly 'or womanish spirit,—I would not that you should lose them! 'I would not that you should lose any servant or friend who 'might help in this Work; that any such should be offended 'by a thing that signifies no more to me than I have told 'you it does. That is to say: I do not think the thing 'necessary; I do not. I would not that you should lose a 'friend for it. If I could help you to many "friends," and 'multiply myself into many, that would be to serve you in 'regard to Settlement! And therefore I would not that any, 'especially any of these who indeed perhaps are men that 'do think themselves engaged to continue with you, and to 'serve you, should be anywise disobliged from you.

'"I have now no more to say." The truth is, I did in-
'dicate this as my conclusion to you at the first, when I told
'you what method I would speak to you in.[1] I may say that
'I cannot, with conveniency to myself, nor good to this service
'which I wish so well to, speak out all my arguments as to
'the safety of your Proposal, as to its tendency to the effectual
'carrying-on of this Work. [*There are many angry suspicious persons listening to me, and every word is liable to different*
'*misunderstandings in every different narrow head!*] I say,
'I do not think it fit to use all the thoughts I have in my
'mind as to that point of safety. But I shall pray to God
'Almighty that He would direct you to do what is according
'to His will. And this is that poor account I am able to
'give of myself in this thing.'*

And so enough for Monday, which is now far spent: 'till tomorrow at three o'clock'[2] let us adjourn; and diligently consider in the interim.

His Highness is evidently very far yet from having made-up his mind as to this thing; the undeveloped Yes still balancing itself against the undeveloped No, in a huge dark intricate manner, with him. Unable to 'declare' himself; there being in fact nothing to declare hitherto, nothing but what he does here declare,—namely, darkness visible. An abstruse time his Highness has had of it, since the end of February, six or seven weeks now; all England sounding round him, waiting for his Answer. And he is yet a good way off the Answer. For it is a considerable question this of the Kingship: important to the Nation and the Cause he presides over; to himself not unimportant,—and yet to himself of very minor importance, my erudite friend! A Soul of a Man in right earnest about its own awful Life and Work in this world; much superior to

[1] 'This was my *second* head of method; all this about myself and my own feelings in regard to the Kingship,—after I had proved to you in my first head that it was not *necessary*, that it was only *expedient* or *not expedient*. I am now therefore got to the end of my second head, to my conclusion.'

* *Somers Tracts*, vi. 365-371. [2] *Burton*, ii. 2.

'feathers in the hat,' of one sort or the other, my erudite friend!—Of all which he gives here a candid and honest account; and indeed his attitude towards this matter is throughout, what towards other matters it has been, very manful and natural.

However, on the morrow, which is Tuesday, at three o'clock, the Committee cannot see his Highness; attending at Whitehall, as stipulated, they find his Highness indisposed in health; —are to come again tomorrow, Wednesday, at the same hour. Wednesday they come again; 'wait for above an hour in the Council-Chamber';—Highness still indisposed, 'has got a cold': Come again tomorrow, Thursday! 'Which,' says the writer of the thing called *Burton's Diary*, who was there, 'did strongly build-up the faith of the Contrariants,'—He will not dare to accept, think the Contrariants. The Honourable House in the mean while has little to do but denounce that Shoreditch Fifth-Monarchy Pamphlet, the *Standard set up*, which seems to be a most incendiary piece;—and painfully adjourn and re-adjourn, till its Committee do get answer. A most slow business; and the hopes of the Contrariants are rising.

Thursday 16th April 1657, Committee attending for the third time, the Interview does take effect; Six of the Grandees, Glynn, Lenthall, Colonel Jones, Sir Richard Onslow, Fiennes, Broghil, Whitlocke, take up in their order the various objections of his Highness's former Speech, of Monday last, and learnedly rebut the same, in a learned and to us insupportably wearisome manner; fit only to be entirely omitted. Whitlocke urges on his Highness, That, in refusing his Kingship, he will do what never any that were actual Kings of England did, reject the advice of his Parliament.[1] Another says, It is his duty; let him by no means shrink from his duty!—Their discoursings, if any creature is curious on the subject, can be read at great length in the distressing pages of *Somers*,[2] and shall be matter of imagination here. His Highness said,

[1] *Somers*, p. 386.

[2] *Somers*, vi. 371-387.

These were weighty arguments; give him till tomorrow to think of them.[1] 'Tomorrow at three: *spero!*' says the writer of the thing called *Burton's Diary*, who is not one of the Contrariants.

SPEECH XII

Alas, tomorrow at three his Highness proves again indisposed; which doth a little damp our hopes, I fancy! Let us appoint Monday morning: Monday ten o'clock, 'at the old place,' Chamber of the Council-of-State in Whitehall. Accordingly, on Monday 20th April 1657, at the set place and hour, the Committee of Ninety-nine is once more in attendance, and his Highness speaks,—answering our arguments of Thursday last, and indicating still much darkness.

'"My Lords,"—I have, as well as I could, considered the 'arguments used by you, the other day, to enforce your con- 'clusion as to that Name and Title, which has been the 'subject of various Debates and Conferences between us. I 'shall not now spend your time nor my own much, in recapitu- 'lating those arguments, or giving answers to them. Indeed 'I think they were "mainly" but the same we formerly had, 'only with some additional inforcements by new instances: 'and truly, at this rate of debate, I might spend your time, 'which I know is very precious; and unless I were "to end in 'being" a satisfied person, the time would spin out, and be 'very unprofitably spent,—so it would. I will say a word or 'two to that only which I think was new.

'"You were pleased to say some things as to the power of 'Parliament, as to the force of a Parliamentary sanction in 'this matter."[2] What comes from the Parliament in the exer- 'cise of their Legislative power, as this Proposal does,—I 'understand this to be an exercise of the *Legislative* power,

[1] *Burton*, ii. 5.

[2] Glynn, Lenthall, Broghil, Whitlocke (*Somers*, pp. 371-2, 384-6).

'and the Laws formerly were always passed in this way "of 'Proposal or Conference," and the way of Bills is of a newer 'date,—I understand that, I say; but——[*In short, the 'Sentence falls prostrate, and we must start again.*] You said, ''that what was done by the Parliament now, and simply 'made to hang upon this Legislative power, "as any Title but 'that of King will do," might seem partly as if it were a thing '*ex dono*, not *de jure*; a thing that had not the same weight, 'nor the same strength, as if it bore a reference to "the 'general Body of" the Law that is already in being.' I con-'fess there is some argument in that,—that is there! But 'if the degree of strength will be as good without Parlia-'mentary sanction, "then"—[*Sentence pauses, never gets 'started again.*]——Though *it* too, "this Title of Kingship," 'comes as a gift from you! I mean as a thing which you 'either provide for the people or else it will never come to 'them; so in a sense it comes from *you*, it is what *they* cannot 'otherwise arrive at; therefore in a sense it is *ex dono*; for 'whoever helps a man to what he cannot otherwise attain, 'doth an act that is very near a gift; and you helping *them* 'to this Title, it were a kind of gift to them, since otherwise 'they could not get it "though theirs"—[*This Sentence also 'finds that it will come to nothing, and so calls halt.*]—But if 'you do it simply by your Legislative power—[*Halt again.—In what bottomless imbroglios of Constitutional philosophy and crabbed Law-logic, with the Fifth-Monarchy and splenetic Contrariants looking on, is his poor Highness plunging! A ray of natural sagacity now rises on him with guidance.*]—'The question, 'What makes such a thing as this more firm?' 'is not the manner of the settling of it, or the manner of 'your "or another's" doing of it; there remains always the 'grand question after that; the grand question lies, In the '*acceptance* of it by those who are concerned to yield obedience 'to it and accept it! [*Certainly, your Highness; that is 'worth all the Law-logic in the world!*] And therefore if a 'thing [*Like this Protectorate, according to your argument,—*

'*not altogether to mine*] hath but, for its root, your Legislative 'sanction——If I may put a 'But' to it, "to that most 'valid sanction!" I will not do so: for I say, It is as good 'a foundation as that other, "which you ascribe to the King-'ship, howsoever 'grounded in the body of Law.'" And if 'that thing, "that Protectorate," be as well accepted, and 'the other be less well—? Why, then truly *it*, I shall 'think, is the better;—and then all that I say is founded 'upon Law too!—

'Your arguments founded upon the Law do all make for 'the Kingship. Because, say you, it doth agree with the 'Law; the Law knows,—the People know it, and are likelier 'to receive satisfaction that way. Those were arguments that 'have ['*had*' *is truer, but less polite*] been used already; and 'truly I know nothing that I have to add to them. And 'therefore, I say, those arguments also may stand as we 'found them and left them already;—except, truly, this '"one point." It hath been said to me [*Saluting my Lord Whitlocke slightly with the eye, whose heavy face endeavours 'to smile in response*] that I am a person who meditate to do 'what never any that were actually Kings of England did: ''Refuse the Advice of Parliament.' I confess, that runs 'deep enough "that runs" to all; that may be accounted 'a very great fault in me; and may rise up in judgment 'against me another time,—if my case be not different from 'any man's that ever was in the Chief Command and Govern-'ment of these Nations before. But truly I think, all they 'that have been in this Office before, and owned in right of 'Law, were inheritors coming to it by birthright,—or if 'owned by the authority of Parliament, they yet had some 'previous pretence of title or claim to it. And so, under 'favour, I think I deserve less blame than any of them would 'have done, if I cannot so well comply with this Title, and '"with" the desire of Parliament in regard to it, as these 'others might do. For they when they were *in*, would have 'taken it for an injury *not* to be in. Truly such an argu-

'ment, to *them*, might be very strong, Why they should not 'refuse what the Parliament offered! But "as for me," I 'have dealt plainly with you: and I have not complimented 'with you "in saying" I have not desired, I have no title to, 'the Government of these Nations. "No title" but what 'was taken up in a case of necessity, and as a temporary 'means to meet the actual emergency; without which we must 'needs—[*Have gone you know whither!*]—I say we had been 'all "topsyturvying now" at the rate of the Printed Book '"you have just got hold of" [*Shoreditch* STANDARD SET UP, '*and Painted Lion there*], and at the rate of those men that 'have been seized going into arms,—if that expedient had 'not been taken! That was visible to me as the day, unless 'I undertook it. And so, it being put upon me, I being 'then General, as I was General by Act of Parliament,—it 'being "put" upon me to take the power into my hand after 'the Assembly of Men that was called together had been 'dissolved——['*I took it, as you all know*': *but his Highness blazing off here, as his wont is when that subject rises, the Sentence explodes*]—!—

'Really the thing would have issued itself in this Book:— 'for the Book, I am told, knows an Author [*Harrison, they 'say, is Author*]; he was a Leading Person in that Assembly! 'And now when I say (I speak in the plainness and simplicity 'of my heart, as before Almighty God), I did out of necessity 'undertake that "Business," which I think no man but 'myself would have undertaken,—it hath pleased God that 'I have been instrumental in keeping the Peace of the Nation 'to this day. And have kept it under a Title [*Protector*] 'which, some say, signifies but a keeping of it to another's 'use,—to a better use; "a Title" which may improve it to 'a better use! And this I may say: I have not desired the 'continuance of my power or place either under one Title or 'another,—that have I not! I say it: If the wisdom of the 'Parliament could find where to place things so as they might 'save this Nation and the Interests of it,—the Interests of

'the People of God in the first place; of those Godly honest 'men,—for such a character I reckon them by, who live in 'the fear of God, and desire to hold forth the excellency "of 'Christ" and a Christian course in their life and conversation —[*Sentence may be said to burst asunder here for the present,* 'but will gather itself together again perhaps!] I reckon 'that proceeds from Faith, and "from" looking to our duties 'towards Christians, and our humanity to men as men; and 'to such Liberties and Interests as the People of this Nation 'are of:—and "I" do look upon that as a standing truth of 'the Gospel; and whoso lives up to that is a Godly Man in 'my apprehension! [*Looks somewhat animated.*]— —And 'therefore I say, If the wisdom of this Parliament,—I speak 'not this vainly or as a fool, but as to God,—if the wisdom 'of this Parliament should have found a way to settle the 'Interests of this Nation, upon the foundations of justice and 'truth and liberty, to the people of God, and concernments 'of men as Englishmen [*Voice risen into a kind of recitative*], '—I would have lain at their feet, or at anybody else's feet, 'that things might have run in such a current! [*Your Highness can't get out; no place for you now but here or in* 'the grave!—*His Highness fetches a deep breath.*]—I say I 'have no pretensions to things for myself; to ask this or 'that, or to avoid this or that. I know the censures of the 'world may quickly pass upon me, "and are already passing": 'but I thank God I know where to lay the weight that is 'laid upon me,—I mean the weight of reproach and con-'tempt and scorn that hath been cast upon me! [*Ends, I think, in a kind of snort,—and the look partly as of an injured dove, partly as of a couchant lion.*]—

'I have not offered you any Name in competition with 'Kingship. I know the evil spirits of men may easily 'obtrude upon a man, That he would have a Name which 'the Laws know not, and which is boundless, and is one 'under which he may exercise more arbitrariness: but I know 'there is nothing in that argument; and if it were in your

'thoughts to offer any Name of that kind, I think, whatso-
'ever it was, you would bound it and limit it sufficiently. I
'wish it were come to that, That no favour should be showed
'to me; but that the good of these Nations should be con-
'sulted;—as "indeed" I am confident it will be by you in
'whatsoever you do.—But I may say a word to another
'thing which doth a little pinch upon me: That it is my
'duty, "to accept this Title." I think it can be no man's
'duty but between God and himself, if he be conscious of his
'own infirmities, disabilities and weakness; "conscious" that
'he perhaps is not able to encounter with it,—although he
'may have a little faith too, for a little exercise. I say I do
'not know what way it can be imputed to me for a fault, or
'laid upon me as a duty. Except I meant to gripe at the
'Government of the Nations without a legal consent,—as I
'say I have done in time past upon principles of Necessity,
'"but have no call now to do again." And I promise I shall
'think whatever is done towards Settlement, without authority
'of Parliament, will neither be very honest, nor to me very
'comprehensible at this stage of the business. I think we
'have fought for the Liberties of the Nation and for other
'Interests!—[*Checks himself.*]—

'You will pardon me that I speak these things in such a
'"desultory" way as this. I may be borne withal, because I
'have not truly well stood the exercise that hath been upon
'me these three or four days,—I have not, I say. [*Besides,
your Highness is suffering from the dregs of a cold, and I
'doubt still somewhat feverish!*]—I have told you my thoughts,
'and have laid them before you. You have been pleased to
'give me your grounds, and I have given you mine. And
'truly I do purposely refuse to mention those arguments that
'were used when ye were last here; but rather tell you what
'since (as I say) lies upon my heart,—"speaking to you" out
'of the abundance of difficulty and trouble that lies upon me.
[*His Highness, sick of body, feverish, unequal to such a jungle
of a subject and its adjuncts, is really weltering and stagger-*

'*ing like a wearied man, in the thickets and puddles.*] And 'therefore you having urged me, I mean offered reasons to 'me, and urged them in such way as did occur to you; and I 'having told you, the last time we met, that the satisfaction 'from them did not reach to me so as wholly to convince me 'of my duty,—I have thought rather to answer today by 'telling you my grief, and the trouble I am under. [*Poor Sovereign Man!*]—

'And truly my intentions and purposes, they are honest 'to the Nation,—and shall be, by the Grace of God. And 'I have it *not* in view, upon collateral pretences, "either by 'asking this Kingship or by refusing it"—to act towards 'things that may be destructive to the liberties of this 'Nation! ['*I am worn and weary; let me be as clay in the 'hands of the potter!*']— —Any man may give me leave *to 'die*; every one may give me leave to be as a dead man,— 'when God takes away the spirit and life and activity that 'are necessary for the carrying-on of such a work! [*Poor Highness, still somewhat feverish, suffering from the dregs of a cold!*]

'And therefore I do leave the former Debates as they 'were, and as we had them; and will let you know that I 'have looked a little upon the Paper [*Petition and Advice*], 'the Instrument, I would say, in the other parts of it, "un- 'connected with this of the Kingship." And considering that 'there are very many particulars in this Instrument [*Holding 'it in his hand*], some of a general reference and others specific, 'and all of weight (let this business of the Title be decided 'as it may) to the concernment of the Nations,—I think I 'may desire that those "particulars" may be really such as 'will serve their object,—let the 'Title' we *fix* upon be one 'or the other. They might be such as the People have no 'cause—[*Sentence checking itself*]—But I am confident your 'care and faithfulness need neither a spur nor an admonition 'to that!—I say, reading in your Order, the Order of the

'Parliament to this Committee, I find mention there of '"divers particulars," concerning which, if I do make any 'scruple of them, I am to have the freedom with this Com-'mittee to cast [1] my doubts.

'The truth of it is, I have a Paper here in my hands,[2] that 'doth contain divers things with relation to the Instrument; 'which, I hope, have a Public aspect in them; therefore I 'cannot presume but they will be very welcome to you. There-'fore I shall desire that you will read them. [*Hands Whit-'locke the Paper.*] I should desire, if it please you, the 'liberty,—which I submit to your judgment whether you 'think I have or no,—that I might tender these few things; 'and some others which I have in preparation. And truly I 'shall reduce them to as much brevity as I can:—they are 'too large here, "these in the Paper are diffuse."[3] And if it 'please you, Tomorrow in the afternoon at three o'clock I 'may meet you again. And I hope we shall come to know 'one another's minds; and shall agree to that that may be 'for the glory of God, and for the good of these Nations.' *

So much for Monday the 20th;—noontide and the hour of dinner being now nigh. Herewith *exeunt* till tomorrow at three.

We returned 'much unsatisfied with the Lord Protector's Speech,' says the Writer of *Burton*; it is 'as dark and promiscuous as before;' nobody can know whether he will have the Kingship or not. Sometimes the 'Contrariants' are up in hope, and sometimes again we,[4]—and the bets, if betting were permitted under Gospel Ordinances, would fluctuate not a little.

[1] canvass, shake out.

[2] A Paper of Objections by his Highness; repeatedly alluded to in the Journals; 'unhappily altogether lost now,' say the *Parliamentary History* and the Editor of *Burton*,—not very unhappily, say my readers and I.

[3] He gave them the complete Paper *on the morrow* (*Burton*, ii. 7).

* *Somers*, vi. 387-389.

[4] See *Burton*, ii. 7 et seqq.

Courage, my Lord Protector! Blake even now, though as yet you know it not, is giving the Spaniards a terrible scorching for you, in the Port of Santa Cruz!—Worth noting: In those very minutes while the Lord Protector is speaking as above, there goes on far off, on the Atlantic brine, under shadow of the Peak of Teneriffe, one of the fieriest actions ever fought by land or water; this action of the Sea-king Blake, at the Port of Santa Cruz. The case was this. Blake cruising on the coast of Spain, watching as usual for Plate Fleets, heard for certain that there was a Fleet actually coming, actually come as far as the Canary Isles, and now lying in the Bay of Santa Cruz in Teneriffe there. Blake makes instant sail thither; arrives there still in time this Monday morning early; finds the Fleet fast moored in Santa Cruz Bay; rich silver-ships, strong war-ships, Sixteen as we count them; stronger almost than himself,—and moored here under defences unassailable apparently by any mortal. Santa Cruz Bay is shaped as a horse-shoe: at the entrance are Castles, in the inner circuit are other Castles, Eight of them in all, bristling with great guns; war-ships moored at the entrance, war-frigates moored all round the beach, and men and gunners at command: one great magazine of sleeping thunder and destruction: to appearance, if you wish for sure suicide to run into, this must be it. Blake, taking measure of the business, runs into it, defying its loud thunder; much out-thunders it,—mere whirlwinds of fire and iron hail, the old Peak never heard the like;—silences the Castles, sinks or burns every sail in the Harbour; annihilates the Spanish Fleet; and then, the wind veering round in his favour, sails out again, leaving Santa Cruz Bay much astonished at him.[1] It is the last action of the brave Blake; who, worn out with toil and sickness and a cruise of three years, makes homewards shortly after; dies within sight of Plymouth.[2]

On the whole, the Spanish Antichrist finds his Highness

[1] *Heath's Chronicle*, pp. 720-1.

[2] 7th August 1657, in his Fifty-ninth year (*Biog. Brit.* in voce).

a rough enemy. In these same April days, Six-thousand men are getting mustered here, 'furnished with new red coats' and other equipments, to join French Turenne in the Low Countries, and fight the Spaniard by land too. For our French Treaty has become a French League Offensive and Defensive,[1] to last for one year; and Reynolds is to be Land-General, and Montague to help him as Sea-General: of whom by and by there may be tidings.—But meanwhile this matter of the Kingship must be settled. All men wish it settled; and the present Editor as much as any! They have to meet tomorrow again, Tuesday 21st, at three o'clock: they for their uncertain airy talking, while so much hard fighting and solid work has to be managed withal.

SPEECH XIII

His Highness this Tuesday, we find, has deserted the question of the Kingship; occupies himself with the other points of the New Instrument, what he calls the 'essentials' of it; leaving that comparatively empty unessential one to hang undecided, for the present. The Writer of *Burton's Diary*, Nathaniel Bacon or another, is much disappointed. The question of the Kingship not advanced a whit by this long Discourse, one of the most tedious we have yet listened to from his Highness. 'Nothing but a dark speech,' says he,[2] 'more promiscuous than before!'—A sensible Speech too, in some respects, Mr. Bacon. His Highness once more elucidates as he best can his past conduct, and the course of Providence in bringing us all hither to the very respectable pass we now stand in;—explains next what are the *essential* elements of keeping us safe here, and carrying us farther, as checking of Public Immorality, attention wiser and wiser to the Preaching Clergy, and for one indispensable thing, additional Provision of Cash;—and terminates by intimating with soft diffuseness, That when he has heard their answer as to

[1] Signed 23d March 1656-7 (*Godwin*, iv. 540).

[2] *Burton*, ii. 7.

these essential things (not that he makes them "conditions," that were terribly ill-judged!), he will then be prepared, in regard to unessential things, to King's Cloaks, Titles, and such-like frippery and feathers in the cap, which are not without use say the Lawyers, but which irritate weak brethren,—to give such answer as may reasonably be expected from him, as God may set him free to do.—Let us listen, us and Whitlocke who also has to report, the best we can.

'My Lords,—I think you may well remember what the 'issue was of the last Conference I had with you "yesterday," 'and what the stick[1] then was. I confess I took liberty "at 'that time," from the Order of Parliament; whereby they 'gave me power to speak with you about those things that 'were in the body of that Instrument and Desire which you 'have been pleased to speak with me "upon"; that I might 'confer with you about those particulars, and might receive 'satisfaction from you as to them. Whether there will a 'good issue be to all these affairs or no, is only in the hands 'of God. That is a great secret;—and secrets belong to 'God. To us belong things revealed;—and such things are 'the subject-matter of this Instrument of yours: and "the 'course is," so far as they may have relation to me, That you 'and I shall consider what may be for the public good '"therein," that so they may receive such an impression[2] as 'can humanly be given them.

'I would be well understood in that I say, The former 'Debates and Conferences have been upon the Title; and 'that rests as it did. But seeing, as I said before, your Order 'of Commitment, "your Order to Committee," doth as well 'reach to the particulars contained in the Instrument "gene-'rally" as to that of the Title,—I did offer to you that I 'should desire to speak with you about *them* also. That so 'we may come to an understanding one with another, not 'What the things in their parts are, but What is in the

[1] stop. [2] impulse and decision.

'whole conduceable to that end we ought all to aim at,—'which is a general Settlement upon good foundations.

'Truly, as I have often said to the Parliament itself when 'they did me the honour to meet me in the Banqueting-'House, so I may now say to you who are a Committee, a 'very considerable representation of the Parliament: I am 'hugely taken with the word *Settlement*; with the thing, and 'with the notion of it. "And indeed" I think he is not 'worthy to live in England who is not! No; I will do my 'part, so far as I am able, to expel that man out of the 'Nation who desireth not that in the general we come to a 'Settlement. Because indeed it is the great misery and 'unhappiness of a Nation to be without such: it is like a 'house (and so much worse than a 'house') divided against 'itself; it 'cannot stand' without Settlement!—And therefore 'I hope, so far, we are all at a good point; and the spirit of 'the Nation, I hope, in the generality of it, is so far at a 'good point: we are all contending for *a* Settlement. That 'is sure. But the question is, *De modo*, and Of those things '"and conditions" that will make it a good Settlement if 'possible. It's no fault to aim at perfection in Settlement! 'And truly I have said, and I say it again: That I think 'this "present proposed Form of Settlement" doth tend to 'the making of the Nation enjoy the things we have "all 'along" declared for; and I would come upon that issue 'with all men, or with any man. The things we have 'declared for, which have been the ground of our quarrelling 'and fighting all along,—the securing of these is what will 'accomplish the general work. Settlement is the general 'work. That which will give to the Nation to enjoy their 'civil and religious liberties; that which will conserve the 'liberties of every man, and not rob any man of what is 'justly his! I think these two things make up Settlement. 'I am sure they acquit us before God and man; having 'endeavoured, as we have done, through some streamings of 'blood, to attain that end.

'I may tell you my "own" experience in this business, and 'offend no good man who loves the Public before what is 'personal. Truly I shall, a little, shortly recapitulate to you 'what my observations and endeavours and interest have been 'to this end. And I hope no man that hath been interested 'in transactions all along[1] will blame me. And he shall 'have no cause to blame me: because I will take myself into 'the number of the Culpable Persons (if there be any such), '—though perhaps apt enough, from the self-love I have, 'to be willing to be "reckoned" innocent where I am so! 'And yet as willing withal to take my reproach, if anybody 'will lay it upon me, where I am culpable! And truly 'I have, through the Providence of God, endeavoured to dis-'charge a poor duty; having had, as I conceive, a clear call 'to the stations I have acted in through all these affairs;— 'and I believe very many are sufficiently satisfied in that. I 'shall not go about saying anything to clear it to you [*No, 'your Highness; let it stand on its own feet*];—but must 'exercise myself in a little short Chronology. To come to 'that "issue" [*Not the 'Chronology,' but what the Chronology 'will help to teach us!*] I say, is really all our business at 'present; and the business of this Nation: To come upon 'clear grounds; To consider the Providence of God, how He 'hath led us hitherunto.

'After it pleased God to put an end to the War of this 'Nation; a final end; which was done at Worcester, in the 'determination and decision that was there by the hand of 'God,—for other War, we have had none that deserves the 'name of War, since that time, which is now six years gone 'September "last";—I came up to the Parliament that then 'was. And truly I found the Parliament, as I thought, very '"well" disposed to put a good issue to all those Transactions 'which had been in the Nation; and I rejoiced at it. And 'though I had not been well skilled in Parliamentary affairs,

[1] Not polite to add, 'as I have been.'

'having been near ten years in the Field; yet, in my poor 'measure, my desires did tend to the same issue; believing 'verily that all the blood which had been shed, and all the 'distemper which God had suffered to be among us, which 'in some sense God had raised among us,—"believing, I 'say," that surely Fighting was not the *end*, but the *means*, 'which had an end, and was in order to somewhat! Truly 'the end, then, was, I thought, Settlement; that is, that 'men might come to some consistencies. And to that end 'I did endeavour to add my mite,—which was no more 'than the interest any one member there might have,— 'after I was returned again to that capacity. And I did, '—I shall tell you no fable, but things "of" which divers 'persons here can tell whether they be true or no [*Threat-'ening to blaze up again?*],—I did endeavour it. I would 'make the best interpretation of all that: but yet it is a 'truth, and nothing of a discovery on my part, but a fact 'which everybody knows to be true, That the Parliament, 'having done these memorable things—[*Sentence explodes; and even launches off into a panegyric of the Long Parlia-'ment,—preparatory to* EXECUTION]—They had done things 'of honour, and things of necessity; things which, if at this 'day you have any judgment that there lieth a possibility 'upon you to do any good, and to bring this Nation to any 'foot of Settlement, I may say you are all along, in a good 'manner, beholden to that Parliament "for." But yet truly 'as men who contend for the Public Interest are not like to 'have the applause of all men, nor justification from all hands, 'so it was with them. And truly, when they had made 'preparations which might have led to the issuing in some 'good for the Settlement of these Nations, in point of liberty, 'in point of freedom from tyranny and oppression and from 'hazard of our religion,—To throw it all away upon men 'who designed by innovations to introduce Popery, and by 'complying with some notions introduce Arbitrariness upon 'a Civil account—['*Royalist Malignants, in* 1647, 1648,

and Crypto-Royalists; with their "notions" that of all things indispensable, a Stuart King was indispensablest? That would never have done! The Long Parliament did need a Pride's Purge; could not'—*But the Sentence here, in its* 'hasty impatience, *as is usual, bursts*]—Why, they had more 'enemies than friends, "that Long Parliament had"; they 'had so all along! And this made them careful [*In* 1648, *trying to bargain with Charles, they were 'full of care'; and even afterwards they could not decide all at once on granting a new Free Parliament and General Election; no!*], '—upon principles of Nature, which do sometimes suggest 'the best. And upon the most undeniable grounds, they 'did think that it was not fit for them presently to go 'and throw themselves, and all this Cause, into hands that 'perhaps had no heart nor principle "in common" with them 'to accomplish the end *they* had aimed at. [*In short, they, very properly, decided on sitting still for a while.*]

'I grant, perhaps through infirmity they did desire to have 'continued themselves; to have perpetuated themselves upon 'that Act.[1] An Act which was justly enough obtained, and 'necessarily enough obtained, when they did get it from the 'King. But though, truly, it was good in the first obtaining 'of it; yet it was, by most men who had ventured their lives 'in this Cause, judged not fit to be perpetuated, but rather a 'thing that was to have an end when it had finished its course! 'Which was certainly the true way of doing,—in subserviency 'to the bringing-in of what might be a good and honest 'Settlement to the Nation.—I must say to you that I found 'them very willing to perpetuate themselves! And truly this 'is not a thing of reflection upon *all*, for perhaps some were 'not so;—I can say it of some. The sober men whom I had 'converse with, were not for continuing; but the major part, 'I think, did overrule in-that they would have continued.

[1] Act, 10th May 1641, That we are not to be dissolved without our own consent. Necessary in all ways; the City would not lend money otherwise,—not even money could be had otherwise (antea, vol. i. p. 119).

'This is true that I say to you: I was entreated to comply 'with the plan, and advised to it; and it was to have been 'accomplished by this medium, "They were" to have sent 'into the country to have got their number reinforced, and 'the Parliament filled up by new elections. And it had this 'excuse, That it would not be against the liberty of the 'People, nor against a *succession* of men coming into rule and 'government; because as men died out of the House, so they 'should be supplied again. [*Like Sir John Cockle's silk hose; which always, after infinite darnings, could remain the same hose, though not a thread of the original silk was now left in them: a perennial pair of stockings. Such was the plan of 'the Rump.*] And this was the best answer they could give 'to all objections, "this," 'That the proper way to govern is 'to have *successive* men in such great bodies as Parliaments; 'to have men learning to know how to obey as well as how 'to govern.'[1] And truly the expedient they then offered was 'what I tell you.

'The truth of it is, this did not satisfy a company of poor 'men [*Certain insignificant individuals,—mentioned elsewhere 'by the same name!*], who thought they had ventured their 'lives, and had some interest to inquire after these things! 'And the rather, because really they had been invited out, '"first of all, into this War," upon principles of honesty, 'conscience and religion; 'for Spiritual Liberties'; as many 'as would come. "Yes"; when the Cause was a little 'doubtful, there had issued forth a Declaration "of that 'purport," which was very inviting; and men did come in '"and enlist" upon that invitation;—and did thereby think 'themselves not to be mercenary men, but men who had wives 'and children in the Nation, and "who" therefore might a 'little look after satisfaction in what would be the Issue of 'the Business! [*They told us always, We were Soldiers, sworn*

[1] The 'Rota *Club*' (see Wood, iv. 1119, 1120, § Harrington) had not started in 1653; but this doctrine, it would seem, was already afloat;—not much patronised by his Highness at any time.

as our first duty to obey; but we answered (and it was intrinsically a fact), We were the most peculiar Soldiers that had ever handled steel in England; whereby our first, and also our second and third, duties had become modified a good deal!]

'And when this thing was thus pressed, and perhaps over-'pressed "by us," That a period might be put, and some 'ascertainment made, and a time fixed,—why then truly the 'extreme ran another way. "*Parliament would not go at 'all*, that had been the one extreme; *Parliament shall go 'straightway*, that was now the other." This is very true 'that I tell you; although it shame me. "Extremes give 'rise to their opposite extremes; and are honourable to 'nobody!" I do not say it shames all that were of the 'House, for I know all were not of that mind; but truly 'when this was urged, they on their side did fall into another 'extreme. And what was that? Why, truly, then it was: 'Seeing this Parliament could not be perpetual, yet *a* Parlia-'ment might always be sitting. And to that end there was 'a Bill framed, That Parliaments might always be sitting; 'that as soon as one Parliament went out of place, another 'might leap in.[1] When we saw this, truly we thought it did 'but make a change in pretence; and did not remedy the 'thing!—However, it was pursued with such heat "in the 'House," I dare say there was more progress in it in a month 'than had ever been with the like business in four; "so eager 'were they" to hasten it to an issue, to get such a Parlia-'ment brought in:—to bring the state of the Nation into 'this, *A continual sitting of Parliament.*

[1] This arrangement, of a Parliament constantly sitting, his Highness and the company of poor men did by no means consider a good 'Issue of the Business.' It leads almost infallibly to 'arbitrariness,' argues his Highness (Speech III., vol. iii. p. 136), leads to etc. etc.—in fact, as in these days of ours is everywhere becoming too apparent, leads to 'Nothing,' to Self-cancelment (like that of the Kilkenny Cats) and peaceable *Zero*. Which in very few epochs of the world's history is the desirable thing! His Highness's logic-arguments, here and in his other Speech, are none of the best; but instincts and inarticulate insights much deeper than logic taught him well that 'a Parliament always sitting' was not the Balm of Gilead we had all been fighting for.

'We did think, who were plain men, and I do think it 'still, That that had been, according to the old foolish pro-'verb, 'out of the frying-pan into the fire'! For, looking 'at the Government you would then have had, it was "still" 'a 'Commonwealth's' Government. [*Not entirely the Ideal 'of a Government, your Highness thinks?*] Why, we should 'have had fine work then! We should have had a Council 'of State, and a Parliament of Four-hundred men, executing 'arbitrary government [*As the Long Parliament did*] without 'intermission, except some change of a part of them; one 'Parliament stepping into the seat of another, just left warm 'for them; the same day that the one left, the other was to 'leap in!—Truly I did think, and I do think, however much 'some are enamoured with that kind of Government—[*Style 'getting hasty, hot; the Sentence breaks*]— —Why it was no 'more but this, That Committees of Parliament should take '"all" upon them, and be instead of the Courts at West-'minster! Perhaps some will think there had been no hurt 'in that arbitrariness of Committees? Where a man can 'neither come to prove nor to defend,—nor to know his 'judges; because there are one set of men who judge him 'today, and another set of men tomorrow! Thus was to 'have been the Law of England; and thus was to have been 'the way of judging this Nation. And truly I thought that 'it was an ill way of 'judging.' For I may say to you, with 'truth in regard to that, After it pleased God, your poor 'Army, those poor contemptible men, came up hither,—it did 'prove so. An outcry here in this place, "then an outcry 'there in that," to get some cause determined and judged. [*The way of Parliaments, your Highness, with their caballings and committeeings, and futile jargonings and Babel out-'babbled!*] And Committees erected to fetch men from the 'extremest parts of the Nation to London, to attend Com-'mittees "set" to determine all things. And without any 'manner of satisfaction. Whether a man travel with never 'such right or never such wrong, he must come,—and he

'must go back again, as wise as he came. This truly was 'the case [*Fancy an old Ironside who had stood Dunbar and Worcester, and Marston and Naseby, dancing attendance 'here!*], and our condition. And truly I must needs say, 'Take all that was in the practices there—[*Better not, your 'Highness!*],—I am sorry to tell the story of it!—Though 'there was indeed some necessity for such a thing. A neces- 'sity for some Committees to look to Indemnity, "and such- 'like"; but no necessity for Committees instead of Courts of 'Justice! However, so it was; and this was the case of the 'People of England at that time; the Parliament assuming 'to itself the authority of the *Three* Estates that were before. 'It had so assumed that authority: and if any man had 'come and said, 'What rules do you judge by?'—'Why, we 'have none! We are supreme, "we," in Legislature and in 'Judicature!'—

'Such was the state of the case. And I thought, and we 'thought, and I think so still, That this was a pitiful remedy, '"this that they proposed." [*This of a Perpetual Parliament,* NEW-DARNED, *like Sir John's Perpetual Pair of Stockings:—a bad article in itself, whether new or new-darned, if you make it 'the exclusive one!*] And it will always be so when and whenso- 'ever a Perpetual Legislative is exercised; where the Legisla- 'tive and Executive Powers are always the same.—Truly I 'think the Legislature might almost as well be in the Four 'Courts of Westminster Hall! If they could make Laws and 'Judges too, you would have excellent Laws; and the Lawyers 'would be able to give excellent counsel! And so it was 'then. This was our condition, without scruple or doubt; 'and I shall say no more to it. But the offer was made by 'us with a true and honest spirit; the desire, the entreaty 'that we might have a Settlement. And there is our 'Settle- 'ment'; that is what they propose for a Settlement!—

'It was desired then, it was offered and desired, that the 'Parliament would be pleased, either of their own body or of 'any else, to choose a certain number of men [*The Puritan*

'*Notables; ah yes!*] to settle the Nation: 'This,' said we, '"is unsettlement, this is confusion!" For, give me leave, if 'any body now have the face to say,—and I would die upon 'this—[*Sentence catching fire*]—if any man in England have 'the impudence [*Ah!*] or face to say, That the reluctance of 'the Parliament to dissolve themselves was their fear of hasty 'throwing of the Liberties of the People of God, and of the 'Nation, into the hands of a bare Representative of the 'People,—which was then the business *we* opposed: if any 'man have the face to say this *now*, who did *then* judge it, '"that last measure of theirs," and I will say more, ought 'then to have judged it, to be a confounding of the whole 'Cause we have fought for,—which it was,—I would look 'upon that man's face! I would be glad to see such a 'man![1] I do not say there is any such here: but if any 'such should come to me, see if I would not look upon him, 'and tell him he is an hypocrite! I dare say it, and I dare 'die for it, "he is an hypocrite";—knowing the spirit that 'hath been in some men to me. They come and tell me, 'They do not like my being Protector. Why do you not?—"'Why, because you will exercise arbitrary government.'—'Why, what is it you want me to do?—'Pray, turn those 'Gentlemen "of the Long Parliament" all in again; then 'we will like you exceedingly well!'—[*Inarticulate interjection; 'snort or 'Humph!'*]—I was a child in swaddling clouts![2] I 'cannot go beyond the Instrument of Government. I cannot

[1] A dangerous spectator, your Highness, with that thundery countenance of yours!—His Highness's anger is exceedingly clear; but the cause of it, in this intricate sentence, much more in the distracted coagulum of jargon which the original here offers, is by no means so clear. On intense inspection, he discovers himself to be (as above) reproaching certain parties who now affect to regret the Long Parliament, which while it existed they had been sufficiently loud in condemning. You say: 'They were afraid to fling the whole Cause into the lottery of a general Parliament:'—*They*? while *we* opposed that; and while that was the very thing they at last were recklessly doing! I should like to see the face of a man brazen enough for a story like this!

[2] So tied-up with restrictions in that first Instrument; had not the smallest power to do 'arbitrary government.'

'do anything but in coördination with the Council. They 'fear, "these objectors," 'arbitrary government' by *me* in that 'way; but if arbitrary government were restored to be general '"by reinstatement of the Long Parliament," then they are 'not afraid of it! Such things as these are, such hypocrisies 'as these are, should they enter into the heart of any man 'that hath truth or honesty in him?——

'Truly that was our case:—and finding our case to be 'thus, we did press the Parliament, as I told you, That they 'would be pleased to select some Worthy Persons who had 'loved this Cause, and the liberties of England, and the 'interest of England: and we told them we would acquiesce, 'and lie at *their* "the Worthy Persons'" feet; but that to 'be thrown into Parliaments which should sit perpetually, 'though but for three years "each," we had experience of 'that! An experience which may remain to this day, to give 'satisfaction to honest and sober men!—Why, truly this 'might have satisfied, this proposal of ours; but it did not. 'And therefore we did think that it was the greatest of 'dangers, "thus" to be overwhelmed, and brought under a 'slavery by our own consent, and 'Iniquity to become a Law.'[1] 'And there was our ground we acted upon at that time. 'And truly they had perfected their Bill for perpetuating of 'Parliaments to the last Clause [*Hear!*]; and were resolved 'to pass it as a Bill in Paper, "not even engrossed on 'Parchment as the wont was," rather than comply with any 'expedient. [*We then entered upon them; bade them with*

[1] 'The Throne of Iniquity, which frameth mischief by a *Law*' (Psalm xciv. 20). A fearful state of matters; shadowed forth by old Prophets as the fearfulest of all; but entirely got rid of in these modern days,—if Dryasdust and the general course of *new* Prophecy may be credited, to whom Law *is* Equity, and the mere want of 'Law,' with its three readings, and tanned pieces of sheepskin written-over in bad English, is Iniquity.—O Dryasdust, thy works in this world are wonderful. Thy notions of this world, thy ideas, what thou namest ideas, perhaps defy all ages, even ages when Witchcraft was believed in,—or when human creatures worshipped Leeks, and considered that the Founder of this Universe was one Apis, a sacred Prize-Ox! I begin to be weary of thee.

'*emphasis, Go about their business! That's no lie!*]—If your 'own experience add anything to you in this, "if you ever 'individually had to do with a Long-Parliament Committee, 'and know its ways,"—in this point, 'Whether or no, in 'cases civil and criminal, if a Parliament assume an absolute 'power, without any control, to determine the interests of 'men in property and liberty; whether or no *this* be desirable 'in a Nation?'—If you have any sense ['*General openness of perception*'; *not exactly our modern word; but a questionable expression, as his Highness immediately sees:* '*any sense*'],—as I believe you have,—you have more than 'I,——"then" I think you will take it for a mercy that '*that* did not befall England at that time! And that is all 'I will say of it.

'Truly I will now come and tell you a story of my own 'weakness and folly. [*The Little Parliament.*] And yet it 'was done in my simplicity, I dare avow it was: and though 'some of my companions—['*May dislike my mentioning the 'story?*'—*The Sentence, in its haste, has no time to* END.]—And 'truly this is a story that should not be recorded, that should 'not be told, except when good use may be made of it. I 'say, it was thought then that men of our own judgment, 'who had fought in the Wars, and were all of a piece upon 'that account;—"it was thought," 'Why surely these men 'will hit it, and these men will do it to the purpose, whatever 'can be desired!' And truly we did think, and I did think so, '—the more blame to me. And such a Company of Men were 'chosen [*The Little Parliament;—Convention of the Puritan 'Notables*]; and did proceed to action. And truly this was the 'naked truth, That the issue was not answerable to the sim-'plicity and honesty of the design. [*Poor Puritan Notables!*]

'What the issue of that Meeting would have been "seemed 'questionable," and was feared: upon which the sober men of 'that Meeting did withdraw; and came and returned my 'power as far as they could,—they did actually the greater 'part of them,—into my hands; professing and believing

'that the issue of that Meeting would have been The subver-
'sion of your Laws and of all the Liberties of this Nation, the
'destruction of the Ministers of this Nation; in a word, the
'confusion of all things. "Confusion of all things!" To set
'up, instead of Order, the Judicial Law of Moses, in abroga-
'tion of all our administrations; to have had administered
'the Judicial Law of Moses *pro hic et nunc*, according to the
'wisdom of any man that would have interpreted the Text
'this way or that—!—And if you do not believe that these
'Persons, "thereupon sent home," were sent home by the
'major part "of themselves," who were judicious and sober
'and learned (the minority being the worser part upon this
'account), and with my consent *a parte post*,—you will believe
'nothing! [*Somewhat tart.*] For the persons that led in
'that Meeting were Mr. Feak and his Assemblage in Black-
'friars. [*We know 'Feak,' and other foul chimneys on fire,
from of old!—As for 'Mr. Squib,' he sits now with Venner
'and the Fifth-Monarchy, safe locked in the Tower.*] 'Mr.
'Feak,' Major-General Harrison, and the rest that associated
'with him at one Mr. Squib's house. There were all the
'resolutions taken that were acted in that House "of Parlia-
'ment" day by day. And this was so *de facto*; I know it to
'be true. And that such must naturally be the product of
'it, I do but appeal to that Book I told you of the other
'day ['*Standard set up*'], That all Magistracy and Ministry
'is Antichristian, wherefore all these things ought to be
'abolished. Which we are certain must have been the issue
'of that Meeting. [*A failure, that poor Convention of the
Puritan Notables!*]

'So that you have been delivered, if I think aright, from
'two evils. The *one*, a secular evil, which would have swal-
'lowed up all religious and civil interest, and brought us
'under the horridest arbitrariness that ever was exercised in
'the world: To have had Five or Six hundred 'Friends,'[1] with

[1] The name of Quakers already budding in 1653,—now, in 1657, budded and blown.

'*their* friends, "the Feaks etc.," intrusted with the judgment 'of all causes, and to judge of them without rule; thinking 'that 'the Power which swallowed up all other Lawful Powers 'in the Nation' hath all the power *they* ever had, both 'Legislative and Judiciary! In short, a thing which would 'have swallowed both the Civil and Religious Interest. And 'the *other* evil—[*His Highness has already inextricably caudled the two together, and here merely gives them another stir*]— 'merely under a Spiritual Interest, would have swallowed up 'all again in another extreme,—"no stated Ministry being 'allowed." All our Civil and Religious Interest; and had 'made our Ministry, and all the things we were beholding to 'God for, "of no account"! Truly we think we ought to 'value *this* Interest above all the interests in the world: but 'if this latter had not as surely been destroyed as the former, 'I understand nothing.—

'And having told you these two things, "two Failures in 'getting Settlement"—truly it makes me in love with this 'Paper; and with all the things in it; and with the additions 'I have now to tender you thereto; and with *Settlement* above 'all things in the world!—Except "only" that, where I left 'you last time ['*The Kingship!*' *Committee of Ninety-nine 'look alert*];—for that, I think, we have debated. [*Look 'dumpish again.*] I have heard your mind, and you have 'heard mine "as to that"; I have told you my heart and 'judgment; and the Lord bring forth His own issue. [*His 'Highness produces the Engrossed Vellum.*]

'I think we are now to consider, not what we are in regard 'to our Footing and that of the Government which called 'this Parliament. [*No: our First foolish Parliament spent all 'their time on that; not you, my wiser Friends.*] Our Footing 'and Government is, till there be an end put to it,—that 'that hath existence! [*What other definition of it can be 'given, or need?*] And so I shall say nothing to *it*. If it 'accomplisheth the end of our Fighting, and all those blessed

'ends and aims that we should aim at; if it do,—I would 'we might keep it, and remain where we are. If it do not, 'I would we might have a better!—Which[1] truly I do come 'out of myself to tell you, That as to the substance and body 'of your Instrument, I do look upon it as having things in it, '—if I may speak freely and plainly; I may, and we all may! '—I say, the things that are provided for in this "Act of" 'Government [*Handling the Vellum*] do secure the Liberties of 'the People of God so as they never before had them! And 'he must be a pitiful man who thinks the People of God ever 'had the like Liberty either *de facto* or *de jure*;—*de jure* 'from God, I think they have had it from the beginning of 'the world to this day, and have it still,—but asserted by a '*jus humanum* I say, they never had it so as they have it now. 'I think you have provided for the Liberty of the People of 'God, and "for the Liberty" of the Nation. And I say 'he sings sweetly that sings a song of reconciliation betwixt 'those two Interests! And it is a pitiful fancy, like wisdom 'and ignorance, to think they are *in*consistent. Certainly 'they may consist! And, I speak my conscience of this "Act 'of" Government, I think you have made them to consist.

'And therefore, I must say, in that, and in other things, 'you have provided well,—that you have. And because I 'see the Rule of the Parliament, "your written Order here," 'gives you leave to speak with me about the particulars (I 'judge the Parliament doth think that any Member it has is 'not to be neglected in offering of anything that may be of 'additional good),—therefore, I having a little surveyed the 'Instrument, I have a Paper here to offer you upon that 'account. [*Handles a Paper of his own.*] And truly I must 'needs say and think that, in such a case as this, where so 'new a work and so strange a work as this is before you, it 'will not be thought ill [*Not at all, your Highness,—only get 'on!*] if I do with a little earnestness press you for some ex-'planations in some things. "A few explanations" that may

[1] Ungrammatical, but unalterable. Means 'On which hint.'

'help to complete the business, and leave me—(for it is only 'handled with *me* "and for *my* behoof" at this time, not with 'you and the Parliament whom you represent):—I say, I 'would be glad that you might leave me, and all opposers, 'without excuse; as well as glad that you should settle this 'Nation to the uttermost advantage for it;—in all the things 'I have to offer you. They are not very weighty; they may 'tend to the completion of the business; and therefore I shall 'take the freedom to read them to you.'

[First, however, this Editor, with your Highness's leave, will read to the Moderns a certain excerpt or abstract from the Engrossed Vellum itself, which he has obtained sight of,[1] that they may understand what your Highness will animadvert upon. Let the Moderns pay what attention they can.

'*Article Fourth* of the Petition and Advice is taken up with describing who are to be Electors to Parliament, and Eligibles,—or rather who not; for it is understood that, except the classes of persons here specified, all who had such a privilege by the old Laws are still entitled to vote and to be voted for.

'The Classes excluded from electing or being elected are the following:

'1. All who have been concerned in the rebellion of Ireland; or who, with or without concern in said Rebellion, are or shall become Papists.—All who have advised, abetted or assisted in any War against the Parliament since the First of January 1641-2,—unless they have since given signal proofs of repentance, by bearing arms *for* the Parliament,—or in some other "signal" manner, difficult to define. The defining of which has occasioned great debates in Parliament.[2] This excludes all the English and other Malignants.—All who have ever been engaged in any Plot against the Person of his Highness; or, apart from that, have been engaged in any

[1] Whitlocke, p. 648, et seqq.; *Parliamentary History*, xxi. 129, et seqq.
[2] *Burton's Diary*.

Insurrection in England or Wales "since 16th December 1653," beginning of the Protectorate.

'2. In Scotland all who have been in arms against the Parliament of England or the Parliament of Scotland before the First of April 1648. This excludes the Montrose Party and Royalists Proper of Scotland,—except such as have given "signal" etc. But then follows this clause in favour of the Hamilton Engagers, and the Dunbar and Worcester people, which attracts his Highness's animadversion in the present Discourse: "Nor any" (shall elect or be elected "who *since* the First of April 1648 have been in arms, or otherwise aided, abetted" etc. (which excludes all the Preston and all the Dunbar and Worcester people; with, however, a most *important* exception)—"except such as since the First day of March 1651-2 have *lived peaceably*,"—as they might *all* very well do, having been all smashed to powder six months before, at Worcester Fight, and their "Chief Malignant," whom they had set up as King, being now sent on his travels, somewhat in the style of a King of the Gipsies!' His Highness cannot but animadvert on this with some tartness.

With these exceptions, and one 'proviso for Ireland' to be speedily noticed, all Freeholders of Counties, according to the old definition, shall vote; and all Burgesses and Citizens of Towns,—nay, I think, there is in this latter department a tendency towards the *Potwalloper* System; but modified of course by the established custom of each several locality in that respect.

And now let us hear his Highness in regard to Paragraph Second of Article Fourth:]

'In the Fourth Article and Second Paragraph, you have 'something that respects the calling of Members to Parlia-'ment "for Scotland." You would not have those excluded 'that were under Duke Hamilton, and made that Invasion.[1] 'Because it hath been said to you, perhaps, that if you should

[1] Which met its due at Preston.

'exclude all "such," you would have no Members from that 'Nation? I hope there be persons of that Nation who will 'be ready to give a better testimony of their country than 'admit that argument! And I hope it is no argument: but 'if it be one, then truly, to meet with the least certainty as to 'qualifications, you should indeed exclude men of your own 'country upon better "defined" crimes; you should hold them 'off upon stricter characters "than those given"! It is thought, 'the qualification there which saith, of their 'good testi-'mony,' That they are to be men who have given good 'testimony by their quiet living—Why, truly, for divers years, 'they have not been willing to do other; they have not had 'an easy possibility to do otherwise, than to live quietly! [*Not since the taming they got at Worcester, your Highness!*] 'Though perhaps "at bottom" many of them have been the 'same men:—and yet "certainly too" I know many of them 'are good men, worthy men.—And therefore whether it be 'not fit, in that place, to explain somewhat farther, and put 'some other character[1] upon what may really be regarded as '"a good testimony" of their *being* otherwise minded, of their '*being* now of another judgment? I confess I have not any-'thing here to supply this defect with. but certainly if the 'description so stand as it now is in your Article,—those 'men, though they be never so indisposed, enemies and remain 'so, yet if they have 'lived peaceably,' where they could 'neither will nor choose "to live otherwise," they are to be 'admitted. I only tell you so, being without any amend-'ment for it; and when done, I shall leave it all with your-'selves. This is for the Second Paragraph.'

[For the Second Paragraph his Highness is 'without any amendment' of his own; offers us nothing to 'supply the defect'; indeed it is difficult to supply well, as that Nation stands and has stood. Besides, they send but Fifty Members in all, poor creatures; it is no such vital matter! Paragraph

[1] description.

Second remains *un*altered.—And now let the Moderns attend for an instant to Paragraph Third:

'*Article Fourth*, Paragraph Third: A proviso as to Ireland, "that no English or Scotch Protestant in Ireland who before the First of March 1649-50" (just about the time his now Highness, then Lord General, was quitting Ireland, having entirely demolished all chance of opposition there) "have borne arms *for* the Parliament or your Highness, or otherwise given signal testimony" etc. "shall be excluded."' This also to his Highness seems worthy of animadversion.]

'In the Third Paragraph of the same Article, whereas it 'is said, "That all persons in Ireland be made capable to 'elect or to be elected who, before the First of March 1649, 'have borne arms for the Parliament, or otherwise given 'testimony of their good affections to the Parliament and 'continued faithful *to the Parliament*:" and yet perhaps 'many of them are since revolted "against us"!—Whether 'it be not necessary that this be more clearly expressed? For 'it seems to capacitate all those who revolted from the Par-'liament;[1] if they have borne arms for the State before the 'First of March 1649, it seems to restore them. But if *since* 'then they have revolted, as I doubt many of our English-'Irish have done, why then the question is, Whether those 'men who lately[2] have been angry and have flown to arms; 'Whether you will think their having borne arms formerly on 'the Parliament's side shall be an exemption to them? This 'is but tendered to you, for some worthy person here to give 'an answer unto?'

[Very rational and irrefragable. It is accordingly altered: 'Signal testimony of their good affection to the *Commonwealth or your Highness, and continued*' etc.—And now let us look at Paragraph Fifth; concerning the last item of which his Highness has a word to say:

[1] The Ormond Royalists almost all;—Malignant enough many of them.

[2] in late years.

'*Article Fourth*, Paragraph Fifth. All who are atheistical, blasphemous, "married to Popish wives," who train or shall train any child to be Popish, or consent that a son or daughter of theirs shall marry a Papist;—who are scoffers of religion, or can be proved to have scoffed any one for being religious; who deny the Scriptures to be God's Word; who deny Sacraments, Ministry or Magistracy to be ordinances of God (Harrison's set); who are Sabbath-breakers, swearers, haunters of taverns or alehouses;—in short, demonstrably unchristian men. All who are Public Preachers too.' Concerning this latter clause his Highness has a remark to make.

'Following in the rear of which, in the same Fifth Paragraph, is a new Item which still more deserves consideration. For securing the "Freedom of Parliament" as well as its Purity, there are to be Forty-one Commissioners appointed "by Act of Parliament with your Highness's consent," who are to examine and certify whether the Persons returned by these rules are, after all, qualified to sit.'—So that it is not to be by the Council of State henceforth, and by 'Nathaniel Tayler, Clerk of the Commonwealth in Chancery,' with his *Certificate* in the Lobby, that Honourable Gentlemen are to be turned back at the door of the House, and sent to redact *Protests*, as in the case of this present Parliament! Forty-one Commissioners are now to do it. His Highness on this also will have a word to say.]

'In the Fifth Paragraph of the same Article, you have 'incapacitated Public Preachers from sitting in Parliament. 'And truly I think your intention is "of" such "only" as 'have Pastoral Function; such as are actually real Ministers. 'For I must say to you, in behalf of our Army,—in the next 'place to their fighting, *they* have been very good 'Preachers': 'and I should be sorry they should be excluded from serving 'the Commonwealth because they have been accustomed to ''preach' to their troops, companies and regiments:—which 'I think has been one of the blessings upon them to the

'carrying-on of the great Work. I think you do not mean 'so "that they should be excluded": but I tender it to you 'that, if you think fit, there may be a consideration had of it. 'There may be some of us, it may be, who have been a little 'guilty of that, who would be loath to be excluded from 'sitting in Parliament "on account of it"! ['*I myself have been known, on occasion, to exhort my troops with Bible texts and considerations; to "preach," if you like to call it so! What has my whole Life been but a "Sermon" of some emphasis; preached with tongue and sword, with head and heart and right hand, and soul and body and breeches-pocket,—not without results, one would venture to hope!'—This Clause, the Committee, expressly or tacitly, will modify as desired.*]

'In the same Paragraph, there is care taken for the nomi-'nating of Commissioners to *try* the Members who are chosen 'to sit in Parliament. And truly those Commissioners are 'uncertain Persons; and it is hard to say what may happen. 'I hope they will be always good men;—but if they should 'be bad, then perhaps they will keep out good men! Besides 'we think,—truly, if you will give us leave to help as to the '"freedom of Parliament," this "of the Commissioners" will 'be something that may go rather harshly down than other-'wise! Very many reasons might be given; but I do only 'tender it to you. I think, if there were *no* Commissioners, 'it might be never a whit the worse:—if you make qualifica-'tions "for Membership," and any man presume to sit without 'those qualifications, you may deal with him. A man without 'qualifications, sitting there, is as if he were not chosen; 'and if he sit without being *chosen*, without having qualifica-'tion,—I am sure the old custom was to send him to the 'Tower [*That will settle him!*], to imprison such a one! If 'any sit there that have not right to sit,—if any stranger 'come in upon a pretended title of *election*, perhaps it is a 'different case,—but if any sit there upon a pretence of '*qualification* in him, you may send *him* to prison without 'more ado. Whether you think fit to do so or no, is parlia-

'mentary business:—I do but hint it to you. I believe, 'If any man had sat in former Parliaments without, "for 'instance," taking the oaths etc., that were prescribed, it would 'have been fault enough in him. I believe something of that 'kind, "instead of your Forty-one Commissioners," might be 'equivalent to any other way, if not better.'

[The Honourable House does not want any more concern with Nathaniel Tayler and his *Certificates*. This Paragraph remains unaltered. Forty-one Commissioners, Fifteen a quorum; future Parliaments to name a future set when they like: the Examinations as to Members are to be by oath of informer in writing, with copies left etc., and rigorous enough formalities.—Let us now glance at Article Fifth:

'*Article Fifth* relates to the "Other House"; a new House of Lords we are getting up. Not more than Seventy of them, not fewer than Forty: they are to be nominated by your Highness and approved by this House: all classes excluded by the preceding Article from our body are of course excluded from theirs.' His Highness has a remark to make on this also.]

'In that Article, which I think is the Fifth Article [*Yes*], 'which concerns the Nomination of the Other House,—in 'the beginning of that Article it stands, That the House is to 'be nominated as you there design it,[1] and the approbation 'is to be from This House,—I would say, from the Parlia-'ment. It stands so. But then now, if any shall be sub-'sequently named, after the Other House *is sat*, upon any 'accidental removal or death,—you do not say "How." 'Though it seems to refer to the same "rule" as the first '"original" selection doth; yet it doth not so clearly intimate 'this, That the nomination shall be, where it was, with the 'Chief Officer,[2] and the approbation of the 'Other House.' 'If I do express clearly what you—Pardon me: but I think

[1] 'as you there design it'; polite for 'by me.' [2] Cannot say 'me.'

'that is the aim of it; and it is not clearly expressed there; '—as I think you will be able to judge whether it be 'or no.'

[Article Fifth ruled as his Highness wishes. And now take Article Seventh:

'*Article Seventh* promises, but does not say how, that there shall be a yearly Revenue of 1,300,000*l.*; one million for Navy and Army, 300,000*l.* for the support of the Government. No part of it by a Land-tax. Other temporary supplies to be granted by the Commons in Parliament,—and neither this Revenue nor any other charge whatever to be laid upon the subject except according to the Parliament's direction and sanction.' Such yearly Revenue the Parliament promises in this Petition and Advice, but does not specify in what way it shall be raised: which omission also his Highness fails not to comment on.]

'In the Seventh Article, which concerns the Revenue, 'that is, the Revenue which you have appointed for the 'Government; wherein you have distributed Three-hundred-'thousand pounds of it to the Maintenance of the Civil 'Authority, and One-million to the maintenance of your 'Forces by Sea and Land:—you have indeed in your Instru-'ment said so, "that there shall be such a Revenue," and 'we cannot doubt of it: but yet you have not made it 'certain; nor yet those 'temporary supplies' which are in-'tended for the peace and safety of the Nations. It is 'desired, That you will take this into your thoughts, and 'make the general and temporary allowances of Revenue '*certain* both as to the sum and to the times those 'sup-'plies' are to be continued. [*Let us know what ground 'we stand on.*] And truly I hope I do not curry favour 'with you: but another thing is desired, and I may very 'reasonably desire it, That these moneys, whatever they are; '—that they may not, if God shall bring me to any interest

'in this business,[1] as lieth at His disposal;—that these 'moneys, "I say," may *not* be issued out by the authority 'of the Chief Magistrate, but by the advice of his Council. 'You have made in your Instrument a coördination "of 'Council and Chief Magistrate" in general terms: "but I 'could wish" that this might be a specified thing, That 'the moneys were not to be distributed "except by authority 'of both." It will be a safety to whosoever is your Supreme 'Magistrate, as well as a security to the Public, That the 'moneys be issued out by advice of the Council, and that 'the Treasurers who receive these moneys be accountable 'every Parliament, within a certain time limited by yourselves; '—"that" every new Parliament, the Treasurer be account-'able to the Parliament for the disposing of the Treasury.'

['*Article Ninth:* Judges, Principal Officers of State, Commanders-in-chief by Sea or Land, all chief Officers civil and military, "are to be approved-of by both Houses of Parliament."']

'There is mention made of the Judges in your Ninth 'Article. It is mentioned that the Officers of State and the 'Judges are to be chosen with the approbation of Parliament. 'But now if there be no Parliament sitting, should there be 'never so great a loss of Judges, it cannot be supplied. And 'whether you do not intend that, in the intervals of Parlia-'ment, it should be by the choice—[*Omit 'of the Chief 'Magistrate,' or politely mumble it into indistinctness*],—with 'the consent of the Council; to be *afterwards* approved 'by Parliament?'

[Certainly, your Highness; reason so requires it. Be it tacitly so ruled.—And now for Article Twelfth:

'*Article Twelfth* (Let us still call it Article *Twelfth*, though in the ultimate Redaction it has come to be marked

[1] If I live, and continue to govern.

Thirteenth) :—Classes of persons incapable of holding any office. Same, I think, as those excluded from elections,—only there is no penalty annexed. His Highness makes some remarks upon this, under the Title of "Article Twelfth";—a new article introduced for securing Purchasers of Church Lands, which is now Article Twelfth,[1] has probably pushed this into the Thirteenth place.']

'The Twelfth Article relates to several qualifications that 'persons must be qualified with, who are put into places of 'Public Office and Trust. [*Treats all of* DISQUALIFICATIONS, *your Highness; which, however, comes to the same thing.*] 'Now if men shall step into Public Places and Trust who are 'not so qualified, "I do not see but hereby still" they may 'execute them. 'Office of Trust' is a very large word; it 'goeth almost to a Constable, if not altogether;—it goeth 'far. Now if any shall come-in who are not so qualified, they 'certainly do commit a breach upon your rule:—and whether 'you will not think in this case that if any shall take upon 'him an Office of Trust, there shall not some *Penalty* be put 'upon him, where he is excepted by the general rule? 'Whether you will not think it fit in that respect to deter 'men from accepting Offices and Places of Trust, contrary to 'that Article?'

[Nothing done in this. The 'Penalty,' vague in outline, but all the more terrible on that account, can be sued-for by any complainant in Westminster Hall.

'*Article Thirteenth* suddenly provides that your Highness will be pleased to consent that "Nothing in this Petition and Advice, or the assent thereto, shall be construed to extend to —the dissolving of this present Parliament!"' 'Oh, no!' answers his Highness in a kind of bantering way; 'not in the least!']

'The next "Article" is fetched, in some respects, I may

[1] Whitlocke, p. 659.

'say, by head and shoulders into your Instrument! Yet in 'some sense it hath an affinity "with the rest, too"; I may 'say, I think it is within your general scope[1] upon this 'account;—"yes," I am sure of it: There is mention made 'in the last parts of your Instrument [*Looking in the Paper; 'Article Eighteenth*] of your purpose to do many good things: '—I am confident, *not* like the gentleman who made his last 'will, and set down a great number of names of men who 'were to receive benefit by him, and there was no sum at the 'latter end! [*'You cannot do these "many good things" if I dissolve you! That will be a Will, with many beneficiary legatees, and no sum mentioned at the end!' His Highness wears a pleasant bantering look;—to which the countenances of the others, even Bulstrode's leaden countenance, respond by a kind of smile.*]

'I am confident you are resolved to deal effectually in 'these things at the latter end; and I should wrong my 'own conscience if I thought otherwise. I hope you *will* 'think sincerely, as before God, 'That the Laws be regu- 'lated.'[2] I hope you will. We have been often talking 'of them: and I remember well, at the old Parliament '[*Whitlocke and Glynn look intelligence*], we were three 'months, and could not get over the word 'Incumbrances' '[*Hum-m-m!*]: and we thought there was little hope of ''regulating the Law' where there was such difficulty as to 'that. But surely the Laws need to be regulated! And 'I must needs say, I think it were a sacrifice acceptable to 'God, upon many accounts. And I am persuaded it is one 'of the things that God looks for, and would have. [*Alas, 'your Highness!*]—I confess, if any man should ask me, ''Why, how would you have it done?' I confess I do not 'know How. But I think verily, at the least, the Delays 'in Suits, and the Excessiveness in Fees, and the Costliness 'of Suits, and those various things which I do not know

[1] 'order' in orig.

[2] One of their concluding promises (Article Eighteenth).

'what names they bear—I heard talk of 'Demurrers' and 'suchlike things, which I scarce know—[*Sentence is wrecked*]! '—But I say certainly, The people are greatly suffering in 'this respect; they are so. And truly if this whole busi- 'ness of Settlement, whatever be the issue of it, if it come, 'which I am persuaded it doth, as a thing that would please 'God;—"then," by a sacrifice "to God" in it, or rather 'as an expression of our thankfulness to God, I am persuaded 'that *this* will be one thing that will be upon your hearts, 'to do something that is honourable and effectual in this. ['*Reforming of the Law!*' *Alas, your Highness!*]—

'"Another thing" that—truly I say that it is not in your 'Instrument—[*Nothing said of it there, which partly em- barrasses his Highness; who is now getting into a small* 'Digression]!—Somewhat that relates to the Reformation of 'Manners,—you will pardon me!—My Fellow Soldiers "the 'Major-Generals," who were raised-up upon that just occasion 'of the Insurrection, not only 'to secure the Peace of the 'Nation,' but to see that persons who were least likely to 'help-on 'peace' or to continue it, but rather to break it— ['*These Major-Generals, I say, did look after the restraining of such persons; suppressed their horse-racings, cock-fightings, sinful roysterings; took some charge of* "REFORMATION OF MANNERS," *they;*'—*but his Highness is off elsewhither, ex-* 'cited by this '*tickle subject*,' *and the Sentence has evaporated*] '—Dissolute loose persons that can go up and down from 'house to house,—and they are Gentlemen's sons who have 'nothing to live on, and cannot be supplied with means of 'living to the profit of the Commonwealth: these I think had 'a good course taken with them. [*Ordered to fly-away their game-cocks, unmuzzle their bear-baitings; fall to some regular livelihood, some fixed habitat, if they could,—and, on the whole, to duck low, keep remarkably quiet, and give no rational* 'man any trouble with them which could be avoided!] And I 'think what was done to them was honourably and honestly 'and profitably done. And, for my part, I must needs say,

'It[1] showed the dissoluteness which was then in the Nation; '—as indeed it springs most from that Party of the Cavaliers! 'Should that Party run on, and no care be taken to reform 'the Nation; to prevent, perhaps, abuses which will not fall 'under *this* head alone—! [*Not under Reformation of* MANNERS *alone: what will the consequence be?*]

'We send our children into France before they know God 'or Good Manners;[2] and they return with all the licentiousness of that Nation. Neither care taken to educate them 'before they go, nor to keep them in good order when they 'come home! Indeed, this makes the Nation not only commit 'those abominable things, most inhuman things, but hardens 'men to justify those things;—as the Apostle saith, 'Not 'only to do wickedly themselves, but to take pleasure in them 'that do so.' And truly, if something be not done in this 'kind, "in the way of reforming public morals," without 'sparing that condition of men, without sparing men's sons, 'though they be Noblemen's sons—! [*Sentence breaks down*] '—Let them be who they may that are deboist, it is for the 'glory of God that nothing of outward consideration should 'save them in their debauchery from a just punishment and 'reformation! And truly I must needs say it, I would much 'bless God to see something done in that matter heartily, not 'only as to those persons mentioned, but to all the Nation; 'that some course might be taken for Reformation; that 'there might be some stop put to such a current of wickedness and evil as this is! And truly, to do it heartily, and 'nobly and worthily! The Nobility of this Nation, they 'especially, and the Gentry, would have cause to bless you. 'And likewise that some care might be taken that those 'good Laws already made for punishing of vice might be 'put in execution.

'This I must needs say of our Major-Generals who did

[1] The course taken with them, the quantity of coercion they needed, and of complaint made thereupon, are all loosely included in this 'It.'

[2] Morals.

'that service: I think it was an excellent good thing;—I 'profess I do! [*Yes; though there were great outcries about 'it.*] And I hope you will not think it unworthy of you "to 'consider," that though we may have good Laws against the 'common Country disorders that are everywhere, yet Who is 'to execute them "now, the Major-Generals being off"? 'Really a Justice of the Peace,—he shall by the most be 'wondered at as an owl, if he go but one step out of the 'ordinary course of his fellow Justices in the reformation of 'these things! [*Cannot do it; not he.*] And therefore I 'hope I may represent this to you as a thing worthy your 'consideration, that something may be found out to repress 'such evils. I am persuaded you would glorify God by this 'as much as by any one thing you could do. And therefore 'I hope you will pardon me.'

[His Highness looks to the Paper again, after this Digression. *Article Fifteenth* in his Highness's copy of the Paper, as we understand, must have provided, 'That no part of the Public Revenue be alienated except by consent of Parliament': but his Highness having thus remonstrated against it, the Article is suppressed, expunged; and we only gather by this passage that such a thing had ever been.]

'I cannot tell, in this Article that I am now to speak unto, 'whether I speak to anything or nothing! There is a desire 'that "no part of" 'the Public Revenue be alienated except 'by consent of Parliament.' I doubt 'Public Revenue' is 'like '*Custodes Libertatis Angliæ*'; a notion only; and not 'to be *found* that I know of! [*It* is *all alienated; Crown Lands etc., are all gone, long ago. A beautiful dream of our youth, as the 'Keepers of the* LIBERTY *of England' were —a thing you could nowhere lay hands on, that I know of!*] 'But if there be any,—and if God bless us in our Settle- 'ment, there will be Public Revenue accruing,—the point is,

'Whether you will subject this to any alienation without 'consent of Parliament?'

[We withdraw the question altogether, your Highness: when once the chickens are *hatched*, we will speak of selling them!—Let us now read Article Sixteenth:

'*Article Sixteenth*,' in his Highness's copy of the Paper, 'provides that no Act or Ordinance already extant, which is not contrary to this Petition and Advice, shall be in the least made void hereby.'—His Highness, as we shall see, considers this as too indefinite, too indistinct; a somewhat vague foundation for Church-Land Estates (for example), which men purchased with money, but hold only in virtue of Writs and Ordinances issued by the Long Parliament.—A new Article is accordingly added, in our Perfect-copy; specifying, at due breadth, with some hundreds of Law-vocables, that all is and shall be safe, according to the common sense of mankind, in that particular.]

'Truly this thing that I have now farther to offer you,—'it is the last in this Paper; it is the thing mentioned in the 'Sixteenth Article: That you would have those Acts and 'Ordinances which have been made since the late Troubles, 'and during the time of them, "kept unabrogated"; that 'they should, if they be not contrary to this Advice,[1]—that 'they should remain in force, in such manner as if this Advice 'had not been given. Why, what is doubted is, Whether or 'no this will be sufficient to keep things in a settled con-'dition?[2] Because it is but an implication "that you here 'make"; it is not determined. You do pass-by the thing, 'without such a foundation as will keep those people, who 'are now in possession of Estates upon this account, that 'their titles be not questioned or shaken,—if the matter be

[1] *Petition* and Advice; but we politely suppress the former part of the name.
[2] It was long debated; see *Burton*.

'not explained. Truly I believe you intend very fully in 'regard to this "of keeping men safe who have purchased on 'that footing." If the words already "used" do not suffice '—That I submit to your own advisement.

'But there is in this another very great consideration. 'There have been, since the present Government "began," 'several Acts and Ordinances, which have been made by the 'exercise of that Legislative Power that was exercised since 'we undertook this Government [*Very cumbrous phrascology, your Highness; for indeed the subject is somewhat cumbrous. Questionable, to some, whether one* CAN *make Acts and Ordi-* 'nances by a mere Council and Protector!]: And I think your 'Instrument speaks a little more *faintly* "as" to these, and 'dubiously, than to the other! And truly, I will not make 'an apology for anything: but surely two persons, two sorts 'of them, "very extensive sorts," will be merely concerned 'upon this account: They who exercised that authority, and 'they who were objects of its exercise! This wholly dis- 'settles them; wholly, if you be not clear in your expressions. 'It will dissettle us very much to think that the Parliament 'doth not approve well of what hath been done "by us" upon 'a true ground of necessity, in so far as the same hath saved 'this Nation from running into total arbitrariness. "Nay, 'if not," why subject the Nation to a sort of men who perhaps 'would do so?[1] We think we have in that thing deserved 'well of the State. [*Do not 'dissettle' his Highness! He has, 'in that thing,' of assuming the Government and passing what Ordinances, etc. were indispensable, 'deserved well.'—Committee of Ninety-nine agree to what is reasonable.*]

'If any man will ask me, 'But ah, Sir, what have you 'done *since?*'—Why, ah,—as I will confess my fault where 'I am guilty, so I think, taking things as they "then" were, 'I think we have done the Commonwealth service! We have 'therein made great settlements,—that have we. We have

[1] Why subject the Nation to *us*, who perhaps would drive it into arbitrariness, as your non-approval of us seems to insinuate?

'settled almost all the whole affairs in Ireland; the rights 'and interests of the Soldiers there, and of the Planters and 'Adventurers. And truly we have settled very much of the 'business of the Ministry ['*Triers*' *diligent here*, '*Expurgators*' *diligent everywhere; much good work completed*];— 'and I wish that be not an aggravation of our fault;[1] I wish 'it be not! But I must needs say, If I have anything to 'rejoice in before the Lord in this world, as having done any 'good or service, "it is this." I can say it from my heart; 'and I know I say the truth, let any man say what he will 'to the contrary,—he will give me leave to enjoy my own 'opinion in it, and my own conscience and heart; and "to" 'dare bear my testimony to it: There hath not been such a 'service to England since the Christian Religion was perfect 'in England! I dare be bold to say it; however there may 'have, here and there, been passion and mistakes. And the 'Ministers themselves, take the generality of them—['*are unexceptionable, nay exemplary as Triers and as Expurgators*': *but his Highness, blazing up at touch of this tender topic, wants to utter three or four things at once, and his* '*elements of rhetoric*,' *fly into the* ELEMENTAL *state! We perceive he has got much blame for his Two Church Commissions; and feels that he has deserved far the reverse.*]— 'They will tell "you," it is beside their instructions, "if they 'have fallen into 'passion and mistakes,' if they have meddled 'with civil matters, in their operations as Triers!" And we 'did adopt the thing upon that account; we did not trust 'upon doing what we did *virtute Instituti*, as if "these Triers 'were" *jure divino*, but as a civil good. But—[*Checks himself*]—So we end in this: We "knew not and" know not 'better how to keep the Ministry good, and to augment it 'in goodness, than by putting such men to be Triers. Men 'of known integrity and piety; orthodox men and faithful.

[1] 'be not to secure the grave men' (Scott's *Somers*, p. 399) is unadulterated nonsense: for *grave men* read *gravamen*, and we have dubiously a sense as above; 'an aggravation of our fault with such objectors.'

'We knew not how better to answer our duty to God and 'the Nation and the People of God, in that respect, than by 'doing what we did.

'And, I dare say, if the grounds upon which we went will 'not justify us, the issue and event of it doth abundantly 'justify us; God having had exceeding glory by it,—in the 'generality of it, I am confident, forty-fold! For as hereto-'fore the men that were admitted into the Ministry in times 'of Episcopacy—alas what pitiful Certificates served to make 'a man a Minister! [*Forty-fold better now.*] If any man 'could understand Latin and Greek, he was sure to be ad-'mitted;—as if he spake Welsh; which in those days went 'for Hebrew with a good many! [*Satirical.* '*They studied Pan, Bacchus, and the Longs and Shorts, rather than their Hebrew Bible and the Truths of the Living Jehovah!*'] 'Certainly the poorest thing in the world would serve a turn; 'and a man was admitted upon such an acccount [*As this of mere Latin and Greek, with a suspicion of Welsh-Hebrew*]; '—ay, and upon a less.—I am sure the admission granted to 'such places *since* has been under this character as the rule: 'That they must not admit a man unless they were able to 'discern something of the Grace of God in him. [*Really it is the grand primary essential, your Highness. Without which, Pan, Bacchus, Welsh-Hebrew, nay Hebrew itself, must go for nothing,—nay for less, if we consider well. In some points 'of view it is horrible!*] "Grace of God"; which was to be 'so inquired for, as not foolishly nor senselessly, but so far 'as men could judge according to the rules of Charity. Such 'and such a man, of whose good life and conversation they 'could have a very good testimony from four or five of the 'neighbouring Ministers who knew him,—he could not yet 'be admitted unless he could give a very good testimony of 'the Grace of God in him. And to this I say, I must speak 'my conscience in it,[1]—though a great many are angry at it, 'nay if all are angry at it,—for how shall you please everybody?

[1] 'I do approve it' is modestly left out.

'Then say some, None must be admitted except, perhaps, 'he will be baptized "again." That is their opinion. [*Ana-'baptists.*] They will not admit a man into a Congregation 'to be Minister, except he commence by being so much *less.* 'The Presbyterians "again," they will not admit him unless 'he be 'ordained.' Generally *they* will not go to the In-'dependents:—truly I think, if I be not partial, I think if 'there be a freedom of judgment, it is there. [*With the 'Independents: that is your Highness's opinion.*] Here are 'Three sorts of Godly Men whom you are to take care for; 'whom you have provided for in your Settlement. And how 'could you put the selection upon the Presbyterians without, 'by possibility, excluding all those Anabaptists, all those In-'dependents! And so now you have put it into this way, 'That though a man be of any of those three judgments, if 'he have the root of the matter in him, he may be admitted. '[*Very good, your Highness!*] This hath been our care and 'work; both by some Ordinances of ours, laying the founda-'tions of it, and by many hundreds of Ministers being "ad-'mitted" in upon it. And if this be a 'time of Settlement,' 'then I hope it is not a time of shaking;—and therefore I 'hope you will be pleased to settle this business too: and 'that you will neither 'shake' the Persons [*Us*] who have been 'poorly instrumental in calling you to this opportunity of 'settling this Nation, and of doing good to it; nor shake 'those honest men's interests who have been thus settled. 'And so I have done with the offers to you,—"with these 'my suggestions to you."—'

[His Highness looks now on the Paper again; looks at Article Seventh there, 'That the Revenue shall be 1,300,000*l.*'; and also at a Note by himself of the Current Expenses;—much wondering at the contrast of the two; not having Arithmetic enough to reconcile them!]

'But here is somewhat that is indeed exceedingly past my

'understanding; for I have as little skill in Arithmetic as I 'have in Law! These are great sums; it is well if I can 'count them to you. [*Looking on his Note.*] The present 'charge of the Forces both by Sea and Land will be '2,426,989*l.* The whole present revenue in England, Scot-'land and Ireland, is about 1,900,000*l.*; I think this was 'reckoned the most, as the Revenue now stands. Why, now, 'towards this you settle, by your Instrument, 1,300,000*l.* 'for the Government; and out of that 'to maintain the 'Force by Sea and Land,' and 'without Land-tax,' I think: 'and this is short of the Revenue which now can be raised by 'the "present Act of" Government 600,000*l.*! [*A grave 'discrepancy!*] Because, you see, the present Government 'has 1,900,000*l.*; and the whole sum which can be raised 'comes "short" of the present charge by 542,689*l.*,—[*So his Highness says; but, by the above data, must be mistaken or misreported: 526,989l. is what 'Arithmetic' gives.*] 'And although an end should be put to the Spanish War, 'yet there will be a necessity, for preserving the peace of the 'Three Nations, to keep up the present established Army in 'England, Scotland and Ireland; also a considerable Fleet 'for some good time, until it shall please God to quiet 'and compose men's minds, and bring the Nation to some 'better consistency. So that, considering the Pay of the 'Army, which comes to upwards of 1,100,000*l. per annum*, 'and the 'Support of the Government' 300,000*l.*, it will 'be necessary for some convenient time,—seeing you find 'things as you do, and it is not good to think a wound 'healed before it be,—that there be raised, over and above 'the 1,300,000*l.*, the sum of 600,000*l. per annum;* which 'makes up the sum of 1,900,000*l.* And likewise that the 'Parliament declare, How far they will carry on the Spanish 'War, and for what time; and what farther sum they will 'raise for carrying on the same, and for what time. [*Explicit, 'and undeniable!*] And if these things be not ascertained,— 'as one saith 'Money is the Cause,' and certainly whatever

'the Cause is, if Money be wanting, the business will fall to 'the ground,—all our labour will be lost. And therefore 'I hope you will have a care of our undertakings!—[*Most practical paragraph.*]

'And having received expressions from you which we may 'believe, we need not offer these things to you; "we need 'not doubt" but these things will be cared for. Those 'things have "already in Parliament" been made overture 'of to you; and are before you:—and so has likewise the 'consideration of the Debts, which truly I think are apparent.

'And so I have done with what I had to offer you,—I 'think I have, truly, for my part. ['*Nothing of the Kingship, your Highness?*' *Committee of Ninety-nine looks ex-* 'pectant]—And when I shall understand where it lies on me 'to do farther; and when I shall understand your pleasure 'in these things a little farther;—we have answered the 'Order of Parliament in considering and debating of those 'things that were the subject-matter of debate and considera- 'tion;—and when you will be pleased to let me hear farther 'of your thoughts in these things, *then* I suppose I shall be 'in a condition to discharge myself [*Throws no additional* 'light on the Kingship at all!], as God shall put in my mind. 'And I speak not this to evade; but I speak in the fear and 'reverence of God. And I shall plainly and clearly, I say,— 'when you shall have been pleased among yourselves to take 'consideration of these things, that I may hear what your 'thoughts are of them,—I do not say that as a *condition* to 'anything—but I shall then be free and honest and plain to 'discharge myself of what, in the whole and upon the whole, 'may reasonably be expected from me, and "what" God shall 'set me free to answer you in.'*

Exeunt the Ninety-nine, much disappointed; the Moderns too look very weary. Courage, my friends, I now see land!—

This Speech forms by far the ugliest job of *buckwashing*

* *Somers Tracts*, vi. 389-400.

(as Voltaire calls it) that his Highness has yet given us. As printed in the last edition of *Somers*, it is perhaps the most unadulterated piece of coagulated nonsense that was ever put into types by human kind. Yet, in order to educe some sense out of it as above, singularly few alterations, except in the punctuation, have been required; no change that we could detect has been made in the style of dialect, which is physiognomic and ought to be preserved; in the meaning, as before, all change was rigorously forbidden. In only one or two places, duly indicated, did his Highness's sense, on earnest repeated reading, continue dubious. And now the horrid buckbasket is reduced in some measure to clean linen or huckaback: thanks be to Heaven!—

For the next ten days there is nothing heard from his Highness; much as must have been *thought* by him in that space. The Parliament is occupied incessantly considering how it may as far as possible fulfil the suggestions offered in this Speech of his Highness; assiduously perfecting and new-polishing the Petition and Advice according to the same. Getting Bills ready for 'Reformation of Manners,'—with an eye on the 'idle fellows about Piccadilly,' who go bowling and gambling, with much tippling too, about 'Piccadilly House' and its green spaces.[1] Scheming out how the Revenue can be raised.—'Land-tax,' alas, in spite of former protest on that subject; 'tax on new buildings' (Lincoln's Inn Fields for one place), which gives the public some trouble afterwards. Doing somewhat also in regard to 'Triers for the Ministry'; to 'Penalties' for taking Office when disqualified by Law; and very much debating and scrupling as to what Acts and Ordinances (of his Highness and Council) are to be confirmed.

Finally, however, on Friday 1st of May, the Petition and Advice is again all ready; and the Committee of Ninety-nine

[1] Dryasdust knows a little piece of Archæology: How 'piccadillies' (*quasi* Spanish *pecadillos*, or *little-sins*, a kind of notched linen-tippet) used to be sold in a certain shop there; whence etc. etc.

wait upon his Highness with it,[1]—who answers briefly, 'speaking very low,' That the things are weighty, and will require meditation; that he cannot just at present say On what day he will meet them to give his final answer, but will so soon as possible appoint a day.

So that the Kingship remains yet a great mystery! 'By the generality' it is understood that he will accept it. But to the generality, and to us, the interior consultations and slow-formed resolutions of his Highness remain and must remain entirely obscure. We can well believe with Ludlow, sulkily breathing the air in Essex, who is incorrect as to various details, That in general a portion of the Army were found averse to the Title; a more considerable portion than the Title was worth. Whereupon, 'for the present,' as Bulstrode indicates, 'his Highness did decide to'—in fact speak as follows:

SPEECH XIV

Banqueting-House, Whitehall, Friday forenoon 8th May 1657, the Parliament in a body once more attends his Highness; receives at length a final Answer as to this immense matter of the Kingship. Which the reader shall now hear, and so have done with it.

The Whitlocke Committee of Ninety-nine had, by appointment, waited on his Highness yesterday, Thursday May 7th; gave him 'a Paper,'—some farther last touches added to their ultimate painfully-revised edition of the Petition and Advice, wherein all his Highness's suggestions are now, as much as possible, fulfilled;—and were in hopes to get some intimation of his Highness's final Answer then. Highness, 'sorry to have kept them so long,' requested they would come back next morning. Next morning, Friday morning: 'We have been there; his Highness will see you all in the Banqueting-House

[1] Burton, ii. 101.

even now.'[1] Let us shoulder our Mace, then, and go.—'Petition of certain Officers,' that Petition which Ludlow[2] in a vague erroneous manner represents to have been the turning-point of the business, is just 'at the door': we receive it, leave it on the table, and go. And now hear his Highness.

'Mr. Speaker,—I come hither to answer That that was 'in your last Paper to your Committee you sent to me "yester-'day"; which was in relation to the Desires that were offered 'me by the House in That they called their Petition.

'I confess, that Business hath put the House, the Parlia-'ment, to a great deal of trouble, and spent much time.[3] I 'am very sorry for that. It hath cost me some "too," and 'some thoughts: and because I have been the unhappy occa-'sion of the expense of so much time, I shall spend little of 'it now.

'I have, the best I can, revolved the whole Business in my 'thoughts: and I have said so much already in testimony to 'the whole, I think I shall not need to repeat what I have 'said. I think it is an "Act of" Government which, in the 'aims of it, seeks the Settling of the Nation on a good foot, 'in relation to Civil Rights and Liberties, which are the 'Rights of the Nation. And I hope I shall never be found 'one of them that go about to rob the Nation of those 'Rights;—but "always" to serve it what I can to the 'attaining of them. It has also been exceedingly well pro-'vided there for the safety and security of honest men in that 'great natural and religious liberty which is Liberty of Con-'science.—These are the great Fundamentals; and I must 'bear my testimony to them; as I have done, and shall do 'still, so long as God lets me live in this world: That the

[1] Report by Whitlocke and Committee: in *Commons Journals* (8th May 1657), viii. 531.

[2] ii. 588, etc., the vague passage always cited on this occasion.

[3] 23d Feb.—8th May: ten weeks and more.

'intentions and the things are very honourable and honest, 'and the product worthy of a Parliament.

'I have only had the unhappiness, both in my Conferences 'with your Committees, and in the best thoughts I could take 'to myself, not to be convinced of the necessity of that thing 'which hath been so often insisted on by you,—to wit, the 'Title of King,—as in itself so necessary as it seems to be 'apprehended by you. And yet I do, with all honour and 'respect, testify that, *cæteris paribus*, no private judgment is 'to be in the balance with the judgment of Parliament. 'But in things that respect particular persons,—every man 'who is to give an account to God of his actions, he must in 'some measure be able to prove his own work, and to have an 'approbation in his own conscience of that which he is to do 'or to forbear. And whilst you are granting others Liberties, 'surely you will not deny *me* this; it being not only a Liberty 'but a Duty, and such a Duty as I cannot without sinning 'forbear,—to examine my own heart and thoughts and judg- 'ment, in every work which I am to set my hand to, or to 'appear in or for.

'I must confess therefore, though I do acknowledge all the 'other "points," I must be a little confident in this, That 'what with the circumstances which accompany human actions, '—whether they be circumstances of time or persons [*Strait-laced Republican Soldiers that have just been presenting you 'their Petition*], whether circumstances that relate to the 'whole, or private and particular circumstances such as com- 'pass any person who is to render an account of his own 'actions,—I have truly thought, and I do still think, that, at 'the best, if I should do anything on this account to answer 'your expectation, at the best I should do it doubtingly. 'And certainly whatsoever is so is not of faith. And what- 'soever is not so, whatsoever is not of faith, is sin to him 'that doth it,—whether it be with relation to the substance 'of the action about which that consideration is conversant, or 'whether to circumstances about it [*Thinskinned Republicans*,

'*or the like* '*circumstances*,'], which make all indifferent 'actions good or evil. I say 'Circumstances' [*Yes!*]; and 'truly I mean 'good or evil' to him that doth it. [*Not to you Honourable Gentlemen, who have mercly advised it in general.*]

'I, lying under this consideration, think it my duty—Only 'I could have wished I had done it sooner, for the sake of the 'House, who have laid such infinite obligations on me [*With a kind glance over those honourable faces; all silent as if 'dead, many of them with their mouths open*]; I wish I had 'done it sooner for your sake, and for saving time and 'trouble; and for the Committee's sake, to whom I must 'acknowledge I have been unreasonably troublesome! But 'truly this is my Answer, That (although I think the Act of 'Government doth consist of very excellent parts, in all but 'that one thing, of the Title as to me) I should not be an 'honest man, if I did not tell you that I cannot accept of 'the Government, nor undertake the trouble and charge of 'it—as to which I have a little more experimented than 'everybody what troubles and difficulties do befall men under 'such trusts and in such undertakings—[*Sentence irrecover-'able*]—I say I am persuaded to return this Answer to you, 'That I cannot undertake this Government with the Title of 'King. And that is mine Answer to this great and weighty 'Business.' *

And so *exeunt* Widdrington and Parliament: 'Buzz, buzz! Distinct at last!'—and the huge buzzing of the public mind falls silent, that of the Kingship being now ended;—and this Editor and his readers are delivered from a very considerable weariness of the flesh.

'The Protector,' says Bulstrode, 'was satisfied in his private

* *Commons Journals*, vii. 533; as reported by Speaker Widdrington, on Tuesday the 12th. Reported too in *Somers* (pp. 400-1), but in the form of coagulated nonsense there. The *Commons Journals* give it as here, with no variation worth noticing, in the shape of sense.

judgment that it was fit for him to accept this Title of King, and matters were prepared in order thereunto. But afterwards, by solicitation of the Commonwealth's-men,' by solicitation, representation and even denunciation from 'the Commonwealth's-men' and 'many Officers of the Army,' he decided 'to attend some better season and opportunity in the business, and refused at this time.'[1] With which summary account let us rest satisfied. The secret details of the matter are dark, and are not momentous. The Lawyer-party, as we saw, were all in favour of the measure. Of the Soldier-party, Ex-Major-Generals Whalley, Goffe, Berry are in a dim way understood to have been for it; Desborow and Fleetwood strong against it; to whom Lambert, much intriguing in the interim, had at last openly joined himself.[2] Which line of conduct, so soon as it became manifest, procured him from his Highness a handsome dismissal. Dismissal from all employment; but with a retiring pension of 2,000*l.*: which mode of treatment passed into a kind of Proverb, that season; and men of wooden wit were wont to say to one another, 'I will *lambertise* you.'[3] The 'great Lord Lambert,' hitherto a very important man, now 'cultivated flowers at Wimbledon'; attempted higher things, on his own footing, in a year or two, with the worst conceivable success; and in fact had at this point, to all reasonable intents, finished his public work in this world.

The rest of the Petition and Advice, so long discussed and conferenced upon, is of course accepted;[4] a much improved Frame of Government; with a Second House of Parliament; with a Chief Magistrate who is to 'nominate his successor,' and be King in all points except the name. News of Blake's victory at Santa Cruz reach us in these same days,[5] whereupon

[1] Whitlocke, p. 646.

[2] Godwin, iv. 352, 367.

[3] *Heath's Chronicle.*

[4] *Commons Journals*, vii. 358 (25th May 1657); Whitlocke, p. 648.—See, in Appendix, No. 30, another Speech of Oliver's on the occasion; forgotten hitherto. (*Note of* 1857.)

[5] 28th May (*Commons Journals*, vii. 54; *Burton*, ii. 142).

is Public Thanksgiving, and voting of a Jewel to General Blake: and so, in a general tide of triumphant accordance, and outward and inward prosperity, this Second Protectorate Parliament advances to the end of its First Session.

SPEECH XV, LETTERS CCXVIII—CCXXIV

THE Session of Parliament is prosperously reaching its close; and during the recess there will be business enough to do. Selection of our new House of Lords; carrying-on of the French League Offensive against Spain; and other weighty interests. Of which the following small documents, one short official Speech, and seven short, mostly official Letters, are all that remain to us.

SPEECH XV

PARLIAMENT has passed some Bills; among the rest, some needful Money-Bills, Assessment of 340,000*l.* a-month on England, 6,000*l.* on Scotland, 9,000*l.* on Ireland;[1] to all which his Highness, with some word of thanks for the money, will now signify his assent. Unexceptionable word of thanks, accidentally preserved to us,[2] which, with the circumstances attendant thereon, we have to make conscience of reporting.

Tuesday morning 9th June 1657, Message comes to the Honourable House, That his Highness, in the Painted Chamber, requires their presence. They gather-up their Bills; certain Money-Bills 'for an assessment towards the Spanish War'; and 'divers other Bills, some of public, some of more private concernment,' among which latter we notice one for settling Lands in the County of Dublin on Widow Bastwick and her

[1] *Parliamentary History*, xxi. 151; *Commons Journals*, vii. 554-7.
[2] *Commons Journals*, vii. 551-2.

four children, Dr. Bastwick's widow, poor Susannah, who has long been a solicitress in this matter: these Bills the Clerk of the Commons gathers up, the Sergeant shoulders his Mace; and so, Clerk and Sergeant leading off, and Speaker Widdrington and all his Honourable Members following, the whole House in this due order, with its Bills and apparatus, proceeds to the Painted Chamber. There, on his platform, in chair of state sits his Highness, attended by his Council and others. Speaker Widdrington at a table on the common level of the floor 'finds a chair set for him, and a form for his clerk.' Speaker Widdrington, hardly venturing to sit, makes a 'short and pithy Speech' on the general proceedings of Parliament; presents his Bills, with probably some short and pithy words, such as suggest themselves, prefatory to each: 'A few slight Bills; they are but as the grapes that precede the full vintage, may it please your Highness.' His Highness in due form signifies assent; and then says:

'Mr. Speaker,—I perceive that, among these many Acts of 'Parliament, there hath been a very great care had by the 'Parliament to provide for the just and necessary support of 'the Commonwealth by those Bills for the levying of Money, 'now brought to me, which I have given my consent unto. 'Understanding it hath been the practice of those who have 'been Chief Governors to acknowledge with thanks to the 'Commons their care and regard of the Public, I do very 'heartily and thankfully acknowledge their kindness herein.' *

The Parliament has still some needful polishing-up of its Petition and Advice, other perfecting of details to accomplish: after which it is understood there will be a new and much more solemn Inauguration of his Highness; and then the First Session will, as in a general peal of joy-bells, harmoniously close.

* *Commons Journals*, vii. 552: Reported by Widdrington in the afternoon.

LETTER CCXVIII

OFFICIAL Letter of Thanks to Blake, for his Victory at Santa Cruz on the 20th April last. The 'small Jewel' sent herewith is one of 500*l.* value, gratefully voted him by the Parliament; among whom, as over England generally, there is great rejoicing on account of him. Where Blake received this Letter and Jewel we know not; but guess it may have been in the Bay of Cadiz. Along with it, 'Instructions' went out to him to leave a Squadron of Fourteen Ships there, and come home with the rest of the Fleet. He died, as we said above, within sight of Plymouth, on the 7th of August following.

"TO GENERAL BLAKE, AT SEA"

Whitehall, 10th June 1657.

Sir,—I have received yours of "the 20th of April last";[1] *and thereby the account of the good success it hath pleased God to give you at the Canaries, in your attempt upon the King of Spain's Ships in the Bay of Santa Cruz.*

The mercy therein, to us and this Commonwealth, is very signal; both in the loss the Enemy hath received, and also in the preservation of our "own" ships and men;[2]*—which indeed was very wonderful; and according to the goodness and loving-kindness of the Lord, wherewith His People hath been followed in all these late revolutions; and doth call on our part, That we should fear before Him, and still hope in His mercy.*

We cannot but take notice also how eminently it hath pleased God to make use of you in this service; assisting you with wisdom in the conduct, and courage in the execution "thereof"; —and have sent you a small Jewel, as a testimony of our own and the Parliament's good acceptance of your carriage in this Action. We are also informed that the Officers of the Fleet,

[1] Blank in MS.; see antea, p. 76.

[2] '50 slain outright, 150 wounded, of ours' (Burton, ii. 142).

and the Seamen, carried themselves with much honesty and courage; and we are considering of a way to show our acceptance thereof. In the mean time, we desire you to return our hearty thanks and acknowledgments to them.

Thus, beseeching the Lord to continue His presence with you, I remain, your very affectionate friend, "OLIVER P."*

Land-General Reynolds has gone to the French Netherlands, with Six-thousand men, to join Turenne in fighting the Spaniards there; and Sea-General Montague is about hoisting his flag to coöperate with him from the other element. By sea and land are many things passing;—and here in London is the loudest thing of all: not yet to be entirely omitted by us, though now it has fallen very silent in comparison. Inauguration of the Lord Protector; second and more solemn Installation of him, now that he is fully recognised by Parliament itself. He cannot yet, as it proves, be crowned King; but he shall be installed in his Protectorship with all solemnity befitting such an occasion.

Friday 26th June 1657. The Parliament and all the world are busy with this grand affair; the labours of the Session being now complete, the last finish being now given to our new Instrument of Government, to our elaborate Petition and Advice, we will add this topstone to the work, and so, amid the shoutings of mankind, disperse for the recess. Friday at two o'clock, 'in a place prepared,' duly prepared with all manner of 'platforms,' 'cloths of state,' and 'seats raised one above the other,' 'at the upper end of Westminster Hall.' Palaceyard, and London generally, is all a-tiptoe, out of doors. Within doors, Speaker Widdrington and the Master of the Ceremonies have done their best: the Judges, the Aldermen, the Parliament, the Council, the foreign Ambassadors, and domestic Dignitaries without end; chairs of state, cloths of state, trumpet-peals, and acclamations of the people—Let the reader conceive it; or read in old

* Thurloe, vi. 342. 'Instructions to General Blake,' of the same date, *ibid.*

Pamphlets the 'exact relation' of it with all the speeches and phenomena, worthier than such things usually are of being read.[1]

'His Highness standing under the Cloth of State,' says Bulstrode, whose fine feelings are evidently touched by it, 'the Speaker in the name of the Parliament presented to him: First, a *Robe* of purple velvet; which the Speaker, assisted by Whitlocke and others, put upon his Highness. Then he,' the Speaker, 'delivered to him the *Bible* richly gilt and bossed,' an affecting symbolic Gift: 'After that, the Speaker girt the *Sword* about his Highness; and delivered into his hand the *Sceptre* of massy gold. And then, this done, he made a Speech to him on these several things presented'; eloquent mellifluous Speech, setting forth the high and true significance of these several Symbols, Speech still worth reading; to which his Highness answered in silence by dignified gesture only. 'Then Mr. Speaker gave him the Oath'; and so ended, really in a solemn manner. 'And Mr. Manton, by prayer, recommended his Highness, the Parliament, the Council, the Forces by land and sea, and the whole Government and People of the Three Nations, to the blessing and protection of God.' ——And then 'the people gave several great shouts'; and 'the trumpets sounded; and the Protector sat in his chair of state, holding the Sceptre in his hand': a remarkable sight to see. 'On his right sat the Ambassador of France,' on his left some other Ambassador; and all round, standing or sitting, were Dignitaries of the highest quality; 'and near the Earl of Warwick stood the Lord Viscount Lisle, stood General Montague and Whitlocke, each of them having a drawn sword in his hand,'—a sublime sight to some of us![2]

And so this Solemnity transacts itself;—which at the moment was solemn enough; and is not yet, at this or any hollowest moment of Human History, intrinsically altogether other. A really dignified and veritable piece of Symbolism;

[1] An exact Relation of the Manner of the solemn Investiture, etc. (Reprinted in *Parliamentary History*, xxi. 152-160.)

[2] Whitlocke, p. 661.

perhaps the last we hitherto, in these quack-ridden histrionic ages, have been privileged to see on such an occasion.—The Parliament is prorogued till the 20th of January next; the new House of Lords, and much else, shall be got ready in the interim.

LETTER CCXIX

SEA-GENERAL MONTAGUE, whom we saw standing with drawn sword beside the chair of state, is now about proceeding to coöperate with Land-General Reynolds, on the dispatch of real business.

FOR GENERAL MONTAGUE, ON BOARD THE NASEBY, IN THE DOWNS

Whitehall, 11th August 1657.

Sir,—You having desired by several Letters to know our mind concerning your weighing anchor and sailing with the Fleet out of the Downs, we have thought fit to let you know, That we do very well approve thereof, and that you do cruise up and down in the Channel, in such places as you shall judge most convenient, taking care of the safety, interest and honour of the Commonwealth. I remain, your very loving friend,

*"OLIVER P."**

Under the wax of the Commonwealth Seal, Montague has written, *His Highness's letter, Aug^st.* 11, 1657, *to comand mee to sayle.*

LETTER CCXX

FOR MY LOVING FRIEND JOHN DUNCH, ESQUIRE

"Hampton Court," 27th August 1657.

Sir,—I desire to speak with you; and hearing a report from Hursley that you were going to your Father's in Berkshire, I

* *Cromwelliana*, p. 168: 'Original Letter, in the possession of Thomas Lister Parker, Esq.,'—is now (1846) in the British Museum (Additional Ayscough MSS. no. 12,098). Only the Signature is Oliver's,—tragically physiognomic:—in letters long, thin, singularly straight in direction, but all notched and tremulous.

send this express to you, desiring you to come to me at Hampton Court.

With my respects to your Father,[1]*—I rest, your loving friend,*

*OLIVER P.**

This is the John Dunch of Pusey; married, as we saw, to Mayor's younger Daughter, the Sister-in-law to Richard Cromwell: the Collector for us of those Seventeen Pusey Letters; of which we have here read the last. He is of the present Parliament, was of the former; seems to be enjoying his recess, travelling about in the Autumn Sun of those old days, —and vanishes from History at this point, in the private apartments of Hampton Court.

LETTER CCXXI

GENERAL MONTAGUE, after a fortnight's cruising, has touched at the Downs again, '28th August, wind at S.S.W.,' being in want of some instruction on a matter that has risen.[2] 'A Flushinger,' namely, 'has come into St. Maloes; said to have twenty-five ton of silver in her'; a Flushinger there, and 'six other Dutch Ships' hovering in the distance; which are thought to be carrying silver and stores for the Spaniards. Montague has sent Frigates to search them, to seize the very bullion if it be Spanish; but wishes fresh authority, in case of accident.

"FOR GENERAL MONTAGUE, ON BOARD THE NASEBY, IN THE DOWNS"

Hampton Court, 30th August 1657.

Sir,—The Secretary hath communicated to us your Letter of the 28th instant; by which you acquaint him with the directions you have given for the searching of a Flushinger and other Dutch Ships, which, as you are informed, have bullion and

[1] Father-in-law, Mayor.

[2] His Letter to Secretary Thurloe (*Thurloe*, vi. 489).

* Harris, p. 515.

other goods aboard them belonging to the Spaniard, the declared Enemy of this State.

There is no question to be made but what you have directed therein is agreeable both to the Laws of Nations and "to" the particular Treaties which are between this Commonwealth and the United Provinces. And therefore we desire you to continue the said direction, and to require the Captains to be careful in doing their duty therein. Your very loving friend,

*OLIVER P.**

LETTER CCXXII

By the new and closer Treaty signed with France in March last,[1] for assaulting the Spanish Power in the Netherlands, it was stipulated that the French King should contribute Twenty-thousand men, and the Lord Protector Six-thousand, with a sufficient Fleet; which combined forces were straightway to set about reducing the three Coast Towns, Gravelines, Mardike and Dunkirk; the former when reduced to belong to France, the two latter to England; if the former should chance to be the first reduced, it was then to be given up to England, and held as cautionary till the other two were got. Mardike and Dunkirk, these were what Oliver expected to gain by this adventure. One or both of which strong Haven-towns would naturally be very useful to him, connected with the Continent as he was,—continually menaced with Royalist Invasion from that quarter; and struggling, as the aim of his whole Foreign Policy was, to unite Protestant Europe with England in one great effectual league.[2] Such was the French Treaty of the 23d of March last.

Oliver's part of the bargain was promptly and faithfully fulfilled. Six-thousand well-appointed men, under Commissary-

* Thurloe, vi. 489.

[1] 23d March 1656-7: Authorities in Godwin (iv. 540-3).

[2] *Foreign Affairs in the Protector's Time* (in *Somers Tracts*, vi. 329-39), by some ancient anonymous man of sense, is worth reading.

General Reynolds, were landed, 'in new red coats,'[1] 'near Boulogne, on the 13th and 14th days of May' last; and a Fleet under Montague, as we observe, sufficient to command those seas, and prevent all relief by ships in any Siege, is actually cruising there. Young Louis Fourteenth came down to the Coast to see the English Troops reviewed; expressed his joy and admiration over them;—and has set them, the Cardinal and he have set them, to assault the Spanish Power in the Netherlands by a plan of their own! To reduce not 'Gravelines, Mardike and Dunkirk,' on the Coast, as the Treaty has it, but Montmédi, Cambray, and I know not what in the Interior;—the Cardinal doubling and shuffling, and by all means putting off the attack of any place whatever on the Coast! With which arrangement Oliver Protector's dissatisfaction has at length reached a crisis; and he now writes, twice on the same day, to his Ambassador, To signify peremptorily that the same must terminate.

Of 'Sir William Lockhart, our Ambassador in France' in these years, there were much more to be said than we have room for here. A man of distinguished qualities, of manifold adventures and employments; whose Biography, if he could find any Biographer with real industry instead of sham industry, and above all things with human *eyes* instead of pedant *spectacles*, might still be worth writing in brief compass.[2] He is Scotch; of the 'Lockharts of Lee' in Lanarkshire; has been in many wars and businesses abroad and at home;—was in *Hamilton's Engagement*, for one thing; and accompanied Dugald Dalgetty or Sir James Turner in those disastrous days and nights at Preston,[3] though only as a common Colonel

[1] Antea, vol. i. p. 157; vol. ii. p. 368.

[2] Noble (ii. 233-73) has reproduced, probably with new errors, certain MS. 'Family Memoirs' of this Lockhart, which are everywhere very vague, and in passages (that of Dunkirk, for example) quite *mythological*. Lockhart's own Letters are his best Memorial;—for the present drowned, with so much else, in the deep slumber-lakes of *Thurloe*; with or without chance of recovery.

[3] Antea, vol. i. p. 342.

then, and not noticed by anybody. In the next Scotch War he received affronts from the Covenanted King; remained angrily at home, did not go to Worcester or elsewhither. The Covenanted King having vanished, and Lockhart's connexions being Presbyterian-Royalist, there was little outlook for him now in Scotland, or Britain; and he had resolved on trying France again. He came accordingly to London, seeking leave from the Authorities; had an interview with Oliver, now newly made Protector,—who read the worth of him, saw the uses of him, advised him to continue where he was.

He did continue; married 'Miss Robina Sewster,' a Huntingdonshire lady, the Protector's Niece, to whom, in her girlhood, we once promised 'a distinguished husband';[1] has been our Ambassador in France near two years now;[2]—does diplomatic, warlike, and whatever work comes before him, in an effectual and manful manner. It is thought by judges, that, in Lockhart, the Lord Protector had the best Ambassador of that age. Nay, in spite of all considerations, his merits procured him afterwards a similar employment in Charles Second's time. We must here cease speaking of him; recommend him to some diligent succinct Biographer of insight, should such a one, by unexpected favour of the Destinies, turn up.

"TO SIR WILLIAM LOCKHART, OUR AMBASSADOR IN FRANCE"[3]

Whitehall, 31st August 1657.

Sir,—I have seen your last Letter to Mr. Secretary, as also divers others: and although I have no doubt either of your diligence or ability to serve us in so great a Business, yet I am deeply sensible that the French are very much short with us in ingenuousness[4] *and performance. And that which increaseth our sense "of this" is, The resolution we "for our part" had,*

[1] Antea, vol. i. p. 261.—'Married, 22 Feb. 1654, William Lockhart, Esq. and Robina Sewster, spinster, both of this Parish.' (*Register of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, London.*)

[2] Since 30th December 1655 ('Family Memoirs' in *Noble*, ii. 244).

[3] Now with the Court at Peronne (Thurloe, vi. 482, 487); soon after at Paris (*ib.* 496).

[4] 'ingenuity,' as usual, in orig.

rather to overdo than to be behindhand in anything of our Treaty. And although we never were so foolish "as" to apprehend that the French and their interests were the same with ours in all things; yet as to the Spaniard, who hath been known in all ages to be the most implacable enemy that France hath,—we never could doubt, before we made our Treaty, that, going upon such grounds, we should have been failed "towards" as we are!

To talk of 'giving us Garrisons' which are inland, *as Caution for future action; to talk of 'what will be done next Campaign,'—are but parcels of words for children. If they will give us Garrisons, let them give us Calais, Dieppe and Boulogne;—which I think they will do* as *soon as be honest in their words in giving us any one Spanish Garrison upon the coast into our hands! I positively think, which I say to you, they are afraid we should have any footing on that side "of the Water," though Spanish.*

I pray you tell the Cardinal from me, That I think, if France desires to maintain its ground, much more to get *ground upon the Spaniard, the performance of his Treaty with us will better do it than anything appears yet to me of any Design he hath!—Though we cannot so well pretend to soldiery as those that are with him; yet we think that, we being able by sea to strengthen and secure his Siege, and "to" reinforce it as we please by sea, and the Enemy "being" in capacity to do nothing to relieve it,—the best time to besiege that Place will be* now. *Especially if we consider that the French horse will be able so to ruin Flanders as that no succour can be brought to relieve the place; and that the French Army and our own will have constant relief, as far as England and France can give it, without any manner of impediment,—especially considering the Dutch are now engaged so much to Southward*[1] *as they are.*

[1] Spain-ward: so much inclined to help the Spaniard, if Montague would let them; a thing worth Mazarin's consideration too, though it comes in irregularly here!

I desire you to let him know That Englishmen have had so good experience of Winter expeditions, they are confident, if the Spaniard shall keep the field, As he cannot impede this work, so neither will he be able to attack anything towards France with a possibility of retreat.[1] *And what do all* delays *signify but "even this": The giving the Spaniard opportunity so much the more to reinforce himself; and the keeping our men another Summer to serve the French, without any colour of a reciprocal, or any, advantage to ourselves!—*

And therefore if this will not be listened unto, I desire that things may be considered-of To give us satisfaction for the great expense we have been at with our Naval Forces and otherwise; which out of an honourable and honest aim on our part hath been incurred, thereby to answer the Engagements we had made. And, "in fine," That consideration may be had how our Men may be put into a position to be returned to us; —whom we hope we shall employ to a better purpose than to have them continue where they are.

I desire we may know what France saith, and will do, upon this point. We shall be ready still, as the Lord shall assist us, to perform what can be reasonably expected on our part. And you may also let the Cardinal know farther, That our intentions, as they have been, will be to do all the good offices we can to promote the Interest common to us.[2]

Apprehending it is of moment that this Business should come to you with speed and surety, we have sent it by an Express. Your very loving friend,

*OLIVER P.**

LETTER CCXXIII

SAME date, same parties; an afterthought, by the same Express.

[1] You may cut-off his retreat, if he venture that way.

[2] 'thereof' in orig.

* Thurloe, vi. 490.

"TO SIR WILLIAM LOCKHART, OUR AMBASSADOR IN FRANCE"

Whitehall, 31st August 1657.

Sir,—We desire, having written to you as we have, that the Design be Dunkirk *rather than Gravelines; and much* more *that it be:—but one of them rather than fail.*

We shall not be wanting, To send over, at the French charge, Two of our old regiments, and Two-thousand foot more, if need be,—if Dunkirk be the design.[1] *Believing that if the Army be well entrenched, and if La Ferté's Foot be added to it, we shall be able to give liberty to the greatest part of the French Cavalry to have an eye to the Spaniard,—leaving but convenient numbers to stand by the Foot.*

And because this action will probably divert the Spaniard from assisting Charles Stuart in any attempt upon us, you may be assured that, if reality may with any reason be expected from the French, we shall do all reason on our part. But if indeed the French be so false to us as that they would not have us have *any footing on that side the Water,—then I desire, as in our other Letter to you, That all things may be done in order to the giving us satisfaction "for our expense incurred," and to the drawing-off of our Men.*

And truly, Sir, I desire you to take boldness and freedom to yourself in your dealing with the French on these accounts. Your loving friend,

*OLIVER P.**

This Letter naturally had its effect: indeed there goes a witty sneer in France, 'The Cardinal is more afraid of Oliver than of the Devil';—he ought indeed to fear the Devil much more, but Oliver is the palpabler Entity of the two! Mardike was besieged straightway; girt by sea and land, and the great guns opened 'on the 21st day of September' next: Mardike was taken before September ended; and due delivery to our

[1] Gravelines is to belong to *them;* Dunkirk to *us*: Dunkirk will be much preferable.

* Thurloe, vi. 489.

General was had of Mardike. The place was in a weak state; but by sea and land all hands were now busy fortifying and securing it.

LETTER CCXXIV

HERE has an old dim Letter lately turned up,—communicated, for new editions, by the distinguished General Montague's Descendant,—which evidently relates to this operation. Resuscitated from its dim Archives, it falls with ready fitness into rank here; kindling the old dead Books into pleasant momentary light and wakefulness at this point, and sufficiently illuminating itself also thereby. A curious meeting, one of those curious meetings, of old Letterpress now forgotten with old Manuscript never known till now, such as occasionally cheer the learned mind !—Of 'Denokson,' clearly some Dutch Vauban, or war *timmerman* on the great scale; of him, or of 'Colonel Clerke,' whom I take to be a Sea-Colonel mainly, the reader needs no commentary;—and is to understand withal that their hasty work was got accomplished, and Mardike put in some kind of fencible condition.

FOR GENERAL MONTAGUE, ON BOARD THE LONDON, BEFORE DUNKIRK. THESE

Whitehall, 2d October 1657.

Sir,—This Bearer, Christian Denokson, I have sent to you, —being a very good artist, especially in wooden works,—to view the Great Fort and the Wooden Fort, in order to the farther strengthening of them.

I hope he is very able to make the Wooden Fort as strong as it is capable to be made; which I judge very desirable to be done with all speed. I desire you will direct him in this view; and afterwards speak with him about it, that upon his return I may have a very particular account about what is fit to be done, and what Timber will be necessary to be provided. I have written

also to Colonel Clerke, the Governor of the Fort, about it. I pray, when he has finished his view, that you will hasten him back. I rest, your very affectionate friend, OLIVER P.*

An attempt to retake Mardike, by scalado or surprisal from the Dunkirk side, was made, some three weeks hence, by Don John with a great Spanish Force, among which his Ex-Royal Highness the Duke of York, with Four English-Irish emigrant Regiments he has now got raised for him on Spanish pay, was duly conspicuous; but it did not succeed; it amounted only to a night of unspeakable tumult; to much expenditure of shot on all sides, and of life on his Royal Highness's and Don John's side,—Montague pouring death-fire on them from his ships too, and 'four great flaming links at the corners of Mardike Tower' warning Montague not to aim *thitherward*; —and 'the dead were carried-off in carts before sunrise.'[1]

Let us add here, that Dunkirk, after gallant service shown by the Six-thousand, and brilliant fighting and victory on the sandhills, was also got, next summer;[2] Lockhart himself now commanding there, poor Reynolds having perished at sea. Dunkirk too remained an English Garrison, much prized by England; till, in very altered times, his now Restored Majesty saw good to sell it, and the loyalest men had to make their comparisons.—On the whole, we may say this Expedition to the Netherlands was a successful one; the Six-thousand, 'immortal Six-thousand' as some call them,[3] gained what they were sent for, and much glory over and above.

These Mardike-and-Dunkirk Letters are among the last Letters left to us of Oliver Cromwell's:—Oliver's great heroic

* Original in the possession of the Earl of Sandwich, at Hinchinbrook (February 1849). Only the Signature is Oliver's; hand, as before, 'very shaky.

[1] 22d October (*Heath's Chronicle*, p. 727; Carte's *Ormond*, ii. 175).

[2] 13th June 1658, the fight; 15th June, the surrender; 24th, the delivery to Lockhart (Thurloe, vii. 155, 173, etc.). Clarendon, iii. 853-58.

[3] Sir William Temple, *Memoirs*, Part iii. 154 (cited by Godwin, iv. 547).

Dayswork, and the small unheroic pious one of Oliver's Editor is drawing to a close! But in the same hours, 31st August 1657, while Oliver wrote so to Lockhart,—let us still spare a corner for recording it,—John Lilburn, Freeborn John, or alas only the empty *Case* of John, was getting buried; still in a noisy manner! Noisy John, set free from many prisons, had been living about Eltham lately, in a state of Quakerism, or Quasi-Quakerism. Here is the clipping from the old Newspaper:

'*Monday* 31*st August* 1657. Mr. John Lilburn, commonly known by the name of Lieutenant-Colonel Lilburn, dying on Saturday at Eltham, was this morning removed thence to London; and his corpse conveyed to the House called the *Mouth*,' old, still extant *Bull-and-Mouth* Inn, 'at Aldersgate,—which is the usual meeting-place of the people called Quakers, to whom, it seems, he had lately joined in opinion. At this place, in the afternoon, there assembled a medley of people; among whom the Quakers were most eminent for number: and within the house a controversy was, Whether the ceremony of a hearse-cloth' (pall) 'should be cast over his coffin? But the major part, being Quakers, would not assent; so the coffin was, about five o'clock in the evening brought forth into the street. At its coming out, there stood a man on purpose to cast a velvet hearse-cloth over the coffin; and he endeavoured to do it: but the crowd of Quakers would not permit him; and having gotten the body upon their shoulders, they carried it away without farther ceremony; and the whole company conducted it into Moorfields, and thence to the new Churchyard adjoining to Bedlam, where it lieth interred.'[1]

One noisy element, then, is out of this world:—another is fast going. Frantic-Anabaptist Sexby, over here once more on Insurrectionary business, scheming out a new Invasion of the Charles-Stuart Spaniards and English-Irish Regiments, and just lifting anchor for Flanders again, was seized 'in the

[1] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 168).

Ship *Hope*, in a mean habit, disguised like a countryman, and his face much altered by an overgrown beard';—before the Ship *Hope* could get under weigh, about a month ago.[1] Bushy-bearded Sexby, after due examination by his Highness, has been lodged in the Tower; where his mind falls into a very unsettled state. In October next he volunteers a confession; goes mad; and in the January following dies,[2] and to his own relief and ours disappears,—poor Sexby.

Sexby, like the Stormy Peterel, indicates that new Royalist-Anabaptist Tumult is a-brewing. 'They are as the waves of the Sea, they cannot rest; they must stir up mire and dirt,'—it is the lot appointed them! In fact, the grand Spanish Charles-Stuart Invasion is again on the anvil; and they will try it, this year, even without the Preface of Assassination. New troubles are hoped from this new Session of Parliament, which begins in January. The 'Excluded Members' are to be readmitted then; there is to be a 'Second House': who knows what possibilities of trouble! A new Parliament is always the signal for new Royalist attempts; even as the Moon to waves of the sea: but we hope his Highness will be prepared for them!—

Wednesday 11*th November* 1657. 'This day,' say the old Newspapers, 'the most Illustrious Lady, the Lady Frances Cromwell, youngest Daughter of his Highness the Lord Protector, was married to the most noble gentleman Mr. Robert Rich, Son of the Lord Rich, Grandchild of the Earl of Warwick and of the Countess-Dowager of Devonshire; in the presence of their Highnesses, and of his Grandfather, and Father, and the said Countess, with many other persons of high honour and quality.' At Whitehall, this blessed Wednesday; all difficulties now overcome;—which we are glad to hear of, 'though our friends truly were very few'!—And on the Thursday of next week follows, at Hampton Court, the Lady Mary's own wedding.[3] Wedding 'to the most noble

[1] 24th July (Newspapers, in *Cromwelliana*, p. 167).
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 169-70.
[3] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 169).

lord, the Lord Fauconberg,' lately returned from his Travels in foreign parts: a Bellasis, of the Yorkshire kindred so named,—which was once very high in Royalism, but is now making other connexions. For the rest, a brilliant, ingenuous and hopeful young man, 'in my opinion a person of extraordinary parts';[1] of whom his Highness has made due investigation, and finds that it may answer.

And now for the new Session of Parliament, which assembles in January next: the Second Session of Parliament, and indeed the last of this and of them all!

SPEECHES XVI—XVIII, LETTER CCXXV

The First Session of this Parliament closed, last June, under such auspicious circumstances as we saw; leaving the People and the Lord Protector in the comfortable understanding that there was now a Settlement arrived at, a Government possible by Law; that irregular exercises of Authority, Major-Generals and suchlike, would not be needed henceforth for saving of the Commonwealth. Our Public Affairs, in the Netherlands and elsewhere, have prospered in the interim; nothing has misgone. Why should not this Second Session be as successful as the First was?—Alas, success, especially on such a basis as the humours and parliamentary talkings and self-developments of Four-hundred men, is very uncertain! And indeed this Second Session meets now under conditions somewhat altered.

For one thing, there is to be a new House of Lords: we know not how that may answer! For another thing, it is not now permissible to stop our Haselrigs, Scotts and Ashley Coopers at the threshold of the Parliament, and say, Ye shall not enter: if they choose to take the Oath prescribed by this

[1] Lockhart's report of him to Thurloe, after an interview at Paris, as ordered on Fauconberg's return homeward, 21st March 1657 (Thurloe, vi. 134, 125).

new Instrument, they have power to enter, and only the Parliament itself can reject them. These, in this Second Session, are new elements; on which, as we have seen, the generation of Plotters are already speculating; on which naturally his Highness too has his anxieties. His Highness, we find, as heretofore, struggles to *do* his best and wisest, not yielding much to anxieties: but the result is, this Session proved entirely unsuccessful; perhaps the unsuccessfulest of all Sessions or Parliaments on record hitherto!—

The new House of Lords was certainly a rather questionable adventure. You do not improvise a Peerage:—no, his Highness is well aware of that! Nevertheless 'somewhat to stand between me and the House of Commons' has seemed a thing desirable, a thing to be decided on: and this new House of Lords, this will be a 'somewhat,'—the best that can be had in present circumstances. Very weak and small as yet, like a tree new-planted; but very certain to grow stronger, if it have real life in it, if there be in the nature of things a real necessity for it. Plant it, try it, this new Puritan Oliverian Peerage-of-Fact, such as it has been given us. The old Peerage-of-Descent, with its thousand years of strength,—what of the old Peerage has Puritan sincerity, and manhood and marrow in its bones, will, in the course of years, rally round an Oliver and his new Peerage-of-Fact,—as it is already, by many symptoms, showing a tendency to do. If the Heavens ordain that Oliver continue and succeed as hitherto, undoubtedly his new Peerage may succeed along with him, and gather to it whatever of the Old is worth gathering. In the mean while it has been enacted by the Parliament and him; his part is now, To put it in effect the best he can.

The List of Oliver's Lords can be read in many Books;[1]

[1] Complete, in *Parliamentary History*, xxi. 167-9: incomplete, with angry contemporary glosses to each Name, which are sometimes curious, in *Harleian Miscellany*, vi. 460-71. An old Copy of the official *Summons* to these Lords is in Additional Ayscough MSS. no. 3246.

but issuing as that matter did, it need not detain us here. Puritan Men of Eminence, such as the Time had yielded: Skippon, Desborow, Whalley, Pride, Hewson, these are what we may call the *Napoleon-Marshals* of the business: Whitlocke, Haselrig, Lenthall, Maynard, old Francis Rouse, Scotch Warriston, Lockhart; Notabilities of Parliament, of Religious Politics, or Law. Montague, Howard are there; the Earls of Manchester, Warwick, Mulgrave—some six Peers; of whom only one, the Lord Eure from Yorkshire, would, for the present, take his seat. The rest of the six as yet stood aloof; even Warwick, as near as he was to the Lord Protector, could not think [1] of sitting with such a Napoleon-Marshal as Major-General Hewson, who, men say, started as a Shoemaker in early life. Yes; in that low figure did Hewson start; and has had to fight every inch of his way up hitherward, doing manifold victorious battle with the Devil and the World as he went along,—proving himself a bit of right good stuff, thinks the Lord Protector! You, Warwicks and others, according to what sense of manhood you may have, you can look into this Hewson, and see if you find any manhood or worth in him;—I have found some! The Protector's List, compiled under great difficulties,[2] seems, so far as we can now read it, very unexceptionable; practical, substantial, with an eye for the New and for the Old; doing between these two, with good insight, the best it can. There were some Sixty-three summoned in all; of whom some Forty and upwards sat, mostly taken from the House of Commons:—the worst effect of which was, that his Highness thereby lost some forty favourable votes in that other House; which, as matters went, proved highly detrimental there.

However, Wednesday 20th January 1657-8 has arrived. The Excluded Members are to have readmission,—so many of them as can take the Oath according to this New Instrument. His Highness hopes if they volunteer to swear this Oath, they

[1] Ludlow, ii. 596.

[2] Thurloe, vi. 648.

will endeavour to keep it; and seems to have no misgivings about them. He to govern and administer, and they to debate and legislate, in conformity with this Petition and Advice, not otherwise; this is, in word and in essence, the thing they and he have mutually with all solemnity bargained to do. It may be rationally hoped that in all misunderstandings, should such arise, some good basis of agreement will and must unfold itself between parties so related to each other. The common dangers, as his Highness knows and will in due time make known, are again imminent; Royalist Plottings once more rife, Spanish Charles-Stuart Invasion once more preparing itself.

But now the Parliament reassembling, on this Wednesday the 20th, there begins, in the 'Outer Court,' since called the Lobby, an immense 'administering of the Oath,' the whole Parliament taking it; Six Commissioners appearing 'early in the morning,' with due apparatus and solemnity, minutely described in the Journals and Old Books;[1] and then labouring till all are sworn. That is the first great step. Which done, the Commons House constitutes itself; appoints 'Mr. Smythe' Clerk, instead of Scobell, who has gone to the Lords, and with whom there is continual controversy thenceforth about 'surrendering of Records' and the like. In a little while (hour not named) comes Black Rod; reports that his Highness is in the Lords House, waiting for this House. Whereupon, Shoulder Mace,—yes, let us take the Mace,—and march. His Highness, somewhat indisposed in health, leaving the main burden of the exposition to Nathaniel Fiennes of the Great Seal, who is to follow him, speaks to this effect; as the authentic Commons Journals yield it for us.

SPEECH XVI

'My Lords, and Gentlemen "of" the House of Com-'mons,—I meet you here in this capacity by the Advice and

[1] *Commons Journals*, vii. 578; Whitlocke, p. 666; Burton, ii. 322.

'Petition of this present Parliament. After so much expense 'of blood and treasure, "we are now" to search and try 'what blessings God hath in store for these Nations. I 'cannot but with gladness of heart remember and acknow-'ledge the labour and industry that is past, "your past 'labour," which hath been spent upon a business worthy 'of the best men and the best Christians. [*May it prove fruitful!*]

'It is very well known unto you all what difficulties we 'have passed through, and what "issue" we are now arrived 'at. We hope we may say we have arrived if not "alto-'gether" at what we aimed at, yet at that which is much 'beyond our expectations. The nature of this Cause, and 'the Quarrel, what that was at the first, you all very well 'know; I am persuaded most of you have been actors in it: 'It was the maintaining of the Liberty of these Nations; our 'Civil Liberties as Men, our Spiritual Liberties as Christians. '[*Have we arrived at that?*] I shall not much look back; 'but rather say one word concerning the state and condition 'we are all now in.

'You know very well, the first Declaration,[1] after the begin-'ning of this War, that spake to the life, was a sense held 'forth by the Parliament, That for some succession of time 'designs had been laid to innovate upon the Civil Rights of 'the Nations, "and" to innovate in matters of Religion. 'And those very persons who, a man would have thought, 'should have had the least hand in meddling with Civil 'things, did justify them all. [*Zealous sycophant Priests, Sibthorp, Mainwaring, Montagu, of the Laud fraternity: forced-loans, monopolies, ship-moneys, all Civil Tyranny was 'right according to them!*] All the "Civil" transactions 'that were,—"they justified them" in their pulpits, presses,

[1] Declaration, 2d August 1642, went through the Lords House that day; it is in *Parliamentary History*, vi. 350. A thing of audacity reckoned almost impious at the time (see D'Ewes's MS. Journal, 23d July); corresponds in purport to what is said of it here.

'and otherwise! Which was verily thought, "had they succeeded in it," would have been a very good shelter to them, 'to innovate upon us in matters of Religion also. And so to 'innovate as to eat-out the core and power and heart and life 'of all Religion! By bringing on us a company of poisonous 'Popish Ceremonies [*Somewhat animated, your Highness!*], 'and imposing them upon those that were accounted 'the 'Puritans' of the Nation, and professors of religion among 'us,—driving them to seek their bread in an howling wilder-'ness! As was instanced to our friends who were forced to 'fly for Holland, New England, almost anywhither, to find 'Liberty for their Consciences.

'Now if this thing hath been the state and sum of our 'Quarrel, and of those Ten Years of War wherein we were 'exercised; and if the good hand of God, for we are to 'attribute it to no other, hath brought this business thus 'home unto us as it is now settled in the Petition and 'Advice,—I think we have all cause to bless God, and the 'Nations have all cause to bless Him. [*If we were of thankful just heart,—yea!*]

'I well remember I did a little touch upon the Eighty-'fifth Psalm when I spake unto you in the beginning of this 'Parliament.[1] Which expresseth well what *we* may say, as 'truly as it was said of old by the Penman of that Psalm! 'The first verse is an acknowledgment to God that He 'had 'been favourable unto His land,' and 'brought back the 'captivity of His people'; and "then" how that He had 'pardoned all their iniquities and covered all their sin, and 'taken away all His wrath';—and indeed of these unspeakable 'mercies, blessings, and deliverances out of captivity, pardon-'ing of national sins and national iniquities. Pardoning, as 'God pardoneth the man whom He justifieth! He breaks 'through, and overlooks iniquity; and pardoneth because He 'will pardon. And sometimes God pardoneth Nations also! '—And if the enjoyment of our present Peace and other

[1] Antea, Speech VI. vol. iv. p. 13.

'mercies may be witnesses for God "to *us*,"—we feel and we 'see them every day.

'The greatest demonstration of His favour and love appears 'to us in this: That He hath given us *Peace*;—and the 'blessings of Peace, to wit, the enjoyment of our Liberties 'civil and spiritual! [*Were not our prayers, and struggles, and deadly wrestlings, all even for this;—and we in some 'measure have it!*] And I remember well, the Church "in 'that same Eighty-fifth Psalm" falls into prayer and into 'praises, great expectations of future mercies, and much 'thankfulness for the enjoyment of present mercies; and 'breaks into this expression: 'Surely salvation is nigh unto 'them that fear Him; that glory may dwell in our land.' 'In the beginning it is called His land; 'Thou hast been 'favourable to Thy land.' Truly I hope this is His land! 'In some sense it may be given out that it *is* God's land. 'And he that hath the weakest knowledge, and the worst 'memory, can easily tell that we are 'a Redeemed People,'— '"from the time" when God was first pleased to look favour-'ably upon us, "to redeem us" out of the hands of Popery, 'in that never to be forgotten Reformation, that most sig-'nificant and greatest "mercy" the Nation hath felt or 'tasted! I would but touch upon that,—but a touch: How 'God hath redeemed us, as we stand this day! Not from 'trouble and sorrow and anger only, but into a blessed and 'happy estate and condition, comprehensive of all Interests, 'of every member, of every individual;—"an imparting to *us*" 'of those mercies "there spoken of," as you very well see!

'And then in what sense it is 'our Land';—through this 'grace and favour of God, That He hath vouchsafed unto us 'and bestowed upon us, with the Gospel, Peace, and rest 'out of Ten Years War; and given us what we would desire! 'Nay, who could have forethought, when we were plunged 'into the midst of our troubles, That ever the people of God 'should have had liberty to worship God without fear of 'enemies? [*Strange: this 'liberty' is to Oliver Cromwell*

a blessing almost too great for belief; to us it has become as common as the liberty to breathe atmospheric air,—a liberty not once worth thinking of. It is the way with all attainments and conquests in this world. Do I think of Cadmus, or the old unknown Orientals, while I write with LETTERS? *The world is built upon the mere dust of Heroes: once earnest-wrestling, death-defying, prodigal of their blood; who now* ' *sleep well, forgotten by all their heirs.*—— ' *Without fear of* ' *enemies,*' *he says*] Which is the very acknowledgment of the ' Promise of Christ that ' He would deliver His from the fear ' of enemies, that they might worship Him in holiness and in ' righteousness all the days of their life.'

' This is the portion that God hath given *us*; and I trust ' we shall forever heartily acknowledge it!—The Church goes ' on there, "in that Psalm," and makes her boast yet farther; ' ' His salvation is nigh them that fear Him, that glory may ' dwell in our land.' *His* glory; not carnal, nor anything ' related thereto: this glory of a Free Possession of the ' Gospel; this is that which we may glory in! [*Beautiful, thou noble soul!—And very strange to see such things in the Journals of the English House of Commons. O Heavens, into what oblivion of the Highest have stupid, canting, cotton-spinning, partridge-shooting mortals fallen, since that January* ' 1658!] And it is said farther, ' Mercy and Truth are met ' together; Righteousness and Peace have kissed each other.' ' And "note" it shall be such righteousness as comes down ' from Heaven: ' Truth shall grow out of the Earth, and ' Righteousness shall come down from Heaven.' Here is the ' Truth of all "truths"; here is the righteousness of God, ' under the notion of righteousness confirming *our* abilities, ' —answerable to the truth which He hath in the Gospel ' revealed to us! [*According to Calvin and Paul.*] And the ' Psalm closeth with this: ' Righteousness shall go before ' Him, and shall set us in the way of His steps';—that ' righteousness, that mercy, that love, and that kindness which ' we have seen, and been made partakers of from the Lord,

'*it* shall be our Guide, to teach us to know the right and 'the good way; which is, To tread in the steps of mercy, 'righteousness and goodness that our God hath walked 'before us in.

'We "too" have a Peace this day! I believe in my very 'heart, you all think the things that I speak to you this day. 'I am sure you have cause.

'And yet we are not without the murmurings of many 'people, who turn all this grace and goodness into worm-'wood; who indeed are disappointed by the works of God. 'And those men are of several ranks and conditions; great 'ones, lesser ones,—of all sorts. Men that are of the Episco-'pal spirit, with all the branches, the root and the branches; '—who gave themselves a fatal blow in this Place,[1] when 'they would needs make a 'Protestation that no Laws were 'good, which were made by this House and the House of 'Commons in *their* absence'; and so without injury to 'others cut themselves off! "Men of an Episcopal spirit": 'indeed men that know not God; that know not how to 'account upon the works of God, how to measure them out; 'but will trouble Nations for an Interest which is but *mixed*, 'at the best,—made up of iron and clay, like the feet of 'Nebuchadnezzar's Image: whether they were more Civil or 'Spiritual was hard to say. But their continuance was like 'to be known beforehand [*Yes, your Highness!*]; iron and 'clay make no good mixtures, they are not durable at 'all!—

'You have now a godly Ministry; you have a knowing 'Ministry; such a one as, without vanity be it spoken, the 'world has not. Men knowing the things of God, and able 'to search into the things of God,—by that only which can 'fathom those things in some measure. The spirit of a beast 'knows not the things of a man; nor doth the spirit of man

[1] In this same House of Lords, on the 10th of December 1641. Busy Williams the Lincoln Decoy-duck, with his Eleven too-hasty Bishops, leading the way in that suicide. (Antea, vol. i. p. 121.)

'know the things of God! 'The things of God are known 'by *the Spirit.*'[1]—Truly I will remember but one thing of 'those, "the misguided persons now cast out from us": 'Their greatest persecution hath been of the People of 'God;—men really of the spirit of God, as I think very 'experience hath now sufficiently demonstrated!—

'But what's the reason, think you, that men slip in this 'age wherein we live? As I told you before, they under- 'stand not the works of God. They consider not the opera- 'tion of His Laws. They consider not that God resisted 'and broke in pieces the Powers that were, that men might 'fear Him;—might have liberty to do and enjoy all that 'that we have been speaking of! Which certainly God has 'manifested to have been the end; and so hath He brought 'the things to pass! *Therefore* it is that men yet slip, and 'engage themselves against God. And for that very cause, 'saith David (*Psalm Twenty-eighth*), 'He shall break them 'down, and not build them up!'

'If, therefore, you would know upon what foundation you 'stand, own your foundation "to be" from God. He hath 'set you where you are: He hath set you in the enjoyment 'of your Civil and Spiritual Liberties.

'I deal clearly with you,[2] I have been under some in- 'firmity [*His Highness still looks unwell*]; therefore dare not 'speak farther to you;—except to let you know thus much, 'That I have with truth and simplicity declared the state of 'our Cause, and our attainments in it by the industry and 'labour of this Parliament since they last met upon this 'foundation—You shall find I mean, Foundation of a Cause 'and Quarrel thus attained-to, wherein we are thus estated.[3] 'I should be very glad to lay my bones with yours [*What a*

[1] 1 Corinthians ii. 11. [2] Means 'Give me leave to say.'

[3] This Parliament's 'foundation,' the ground *this* Parliament took its stand upon, was a recognition that our Cause had been so and so, that our 'attainment' and 'estate' in it were so and so; hence their *Petition and Advice*, and other very salutary labours.

'*tone!*];—and would have done it, with all heartiness and 'cheerfulness, in the meanest capacity I ever yet was in, to 'serve the Parliament.

'If God give you, as I trust He will,—['*His blessing*' *or* ''*strength*': *but the Sentence is gone.*]—He *hath* given it you, 'for what have I been speaking of but what you have done? 'He hath given you strength to do what you have done! 'And if God should bless you in this work, and make this 'Meeting happy on this account, you shall all be called the 'Blessed of the Lord. [*Poor Oliver!*]—The generations to 'come will bless us. You shall be the 'repairers of breaches, 'and the restorers of paths to dwell in!'[1] And if there be 'any higher work which mortals can attain unto in the world, 'beyond this, I acknowledge my ignorance "of it."

'As I told you, I have some infirmities upon me. I have 'not liberty to speak more unto you; but I have desired 'an Honourable Person here by me—[*Glancing towards 'Nathaniel Fiennes, him with the Purse and Seal*] to discourse, 'a little more particularly, what may be more proper for this 'occasion and this meeting.' *

Nathaniel Fiennes follows in a long highflown, ingenious Discourse,[2] characterised by Dryasdust, in his Parliamentary History and other Works, as false, canting, and little less than insane; for which the Anti-dryasdust reader has by this time learned to forgive that fatal Doctor of Darkness. Fiennes's Speech is easily recognisable, across its Calvinistic dialect, as full of sense and strength; broad manful thought and clear insight, couched in a gorgeous figurative style, which a friendly judge might almost call poetic. It is the first time we thoroughly forgive the Honourable Nathaniel for surrendering Bristol to Prince Rupert long ago; and rejoice that

[1] Isaiah lviii. 12.

* *Commons Journals*, vii. 579: that is the Original,—reported by Widdrington next day. *Burton* (ii. 322), *Parliamentary History* (xxi. 170), are copies.

[2] Reported, *Commons Journals*, vii. 582-7, Monday 25th Jan. 1657-8.

Prynne and Independency Walker did not get him shot, by Court-Martial, on that occasion.

Nathaniel compares the present state of England to the rising of Cosmos out of Chaos as recorded in *Genesis*: Two 'firmaments' are made, two separate Houses of Parliament; much is made, but much yet remains to be made. He is full of figurative ingenuity; full of resolution, of tolerance, of discretion, and various other good qualities not very rife in the world. 'What shall be done to our Sister that hath no breasts?' he asks, in the language of Solomon's Song. What shall we do with those good men, friends to our Cause, who yet reject us, and sit at home on their estates? We will soothe them, we will submit to them, we will in all ways invite them to us. Our little Sister,—'if she be a wall, we will build a palace of silver upon her; if she be a door we will enclose her with boards of cedar':—our little Sister shall not be estranged from us, if it please God!—

There is, in truth, need enough of unanimity at present. One of these days, there came a man riding jogtrot through Stratford-at-the-Bow, with 'a green glazed cover over his hat,' a 'nightcap under it,' and 'his valise behind him'; a rustic-looking man; recognisable to *us*, amid the vanished populations who take no notice of him as he jogs along there,—for the Duke of Ormond, Charles Stuart's head man! He sat up, at Colchester, the night before, 'playing shuffleboard with some farmers, and drinking hot ale.' He is fresh from Flanders, and the Ex-King; has arrived here to organise the Spanish Charles-Stuart Invasion, and see what Royalist Insurrection, or other domestic mischief there may be hopes of. Lodges now, 'with dyed hair,' in a much disguised manner, 'at the house of a Papist Chirurgeon in Drury Lane'; communicating with the ringleaders here.[1]

The Spanish Charles-Stuart Invasion is again on foot, and no fable. He has Four English-Irish Regiments; the low-

[1] Carte's *Ormond*, ii. 176-8.

minded Dutch, we understand, have hired him Two-and-twenty ships, which hope to escape our frigates some dark night; and Don John has promised a Spanish Army of Six-thousand or Ten-thousand, if the domestic Royalists will bestir themselves. Like the waves of the sea, that cannot rest; that have to go on throwing up mire and dirt! Frantic-Anabaptists too are awakening; the general English Hydra is rallying itself again, as if to try it one other last time.

Foreign Affairs also look altogether questionable to a Protestant man. Swede and Dane in open war; inextricable quarrels bewildering the King of Sweden, King of Denmark, Elector of Brandenburg, all manner of Foreign Protestants, whom Oliver never yet could reconcile; and the Dutch playing false; and the Spaniards, the Austrians, the Pope and Papists, too well united!—Need enough that this Parliament be unanimous.

The hopes of Oliver and Fiennes and all practicable Puritans may have naturally stood high at this meeting:—but if so, it was not many hours till they began fatally to sink. There exists also an *im*practicable set of Puritan men,—the old Excluded Members, introduced now, or now first admitted into this Parliament,—whom no beautifulest 'two firmaments' seen overspanning Chaos, no Spanish Invasion threatening to bring Chaos back, no hopefulest and no fearfulest phenomenon of Nature or Constitutional Art, will ever divorce from their one Republican Idea. Intolerability of the Single Person: this, and this only, will Nature in her dumb changes, and Art in her spoken interpretations thereof, reveal to these men. It is their one Idea; which, in fact, they will carry with them to —the gallows at Charing Cross, when no Oliver any more is there to restrain it and them! Poor windy angry Haselrig, poor little peppery Thomas Scott—And yet these were not the poorest. Scott was only hanged: but what shall we say of a Luke Robinson, also very loud in this Parliament, who had to turn his coat that he might escape hanging? The history of this Parliament is not edifying to Constitutional men.

SPEECH XVII

We said, the Two Houses, at least the First House, very ill fulfilled his Highness's expectations. Hardly had they got into their respective localities after his Highness's Opening Speech, when the New House, sending the Old a simple message about requesting his Highness to have a day of Fasting, there arose a Debate as to What answer should be given; as to What 'name,' first of all, this said New House was to have,—otherwise what answer could you give? Debate carried on with great vigour; resumed, re-resumed day after day;—and never yet terminated; not destined to be terminated in this world! How eloquent were peppery Thomas Scott and others, lest we should call them a House of *Lords*,—not, alas, lest he the peppery Constitutional Debater, and others such, should lose their own heads, and intrust their Cause with all its Gospels to a new very curious Defender of the Faith! It is somewhat sad to see.

On the morning of Monday January 25th, the Writer of the Diary called *Burton's*,—Nathaniel Bacon if that were he,—finds, on entering the House, Sir Arthur Haselrig on his feet there, saying, 'Give me my Oath!' Sir Arthur, as we transiently saw, was summoned to the Peers House; but he has decided to sit *here*. It is an ominous symptom. After 'Mr. Peters' has concluded his morning exercise,[1] the intemperate Sir Arthur again demands, 'Give me my Oath!'—'I dare not,' answers Francis Bacon, the official person; Brother of the Diarist. But at length they do give it him; and he sits; Sir Arthur is henceforth here. And, on the whole, ought we not to call this pretended Peers House the 'Other House' merely? Sir Arthur, peppery Scott, Luke Robinson and Company, are clearly of that mind.

However, the Speaker has a Letter from his Highness, summoning us all to the Banqueting-House at Whitehall this

[1] Burton, ii. 347.

afternoon at three; both Houses shall meet him there. There accordingly does his Highness, do both Houses and all the Official world make appearance. Gloomy Rushworth, Bacon, and one 'Smythe,' with Notebooks in their hands, are there. His Highness, in the following large manful manner, looking before and after, looking abroad and at home, with true nobleness if we consider all things,—speaks:

'My Lords and Gentlemen of the Two Houses of Parliament,—(For *so* I must own you), in whom together with 'myself is vested the Legislative Power of these Nations!—The 'impression of the weight of those affairs and interests for 'which we are met together is such that I could not with a 'good conscience satisfy myself, if I did not remonstrate to 'you somewhat of my apprehensions of the State of the Affairs 'of these Nations; together with the proposal of such remedy 'as may occur, to the dangers now imminent upon us.

'I conceive the Well-being, yea the Being of these Nations 'is now at stake. If God bless this Meeting,—our tranquillity and peace may be lengthened out to us; if *otherwise*, '—I shall offer it to your judgments and considerations, by 'the time I have done, whether there be, as to *men*,[1] "so 'much as" a possibility of discharging that Trust which is 'incumbent upon us for the safety and preservation of these 'Nations! When I have told you what occurs to my thoughts, 'I shall leave it to such an operation on your hearts as it 'shall please God Almighty to work upon you. [*His Highness, I think, looks earnest enough to-day. Oppressed with many things, and not in good health either. In those deep mournful eyes, which are always full of noble silent sorrow, of affection and pity and valour, what a depth today of thoughts that cannot be spoken! Sorrow enough, depth enough,—and this deepest attainable depth, to rest upon what 'it shall please God Almighty' to do!*]

'I look upon this to be the great duty of my Place; as

[1] humanly speaking.

'being set on a watch-tower to see what may be for the good 'of these Nations, and what may be for the preventing of 'evil; that so, by the advice of so wise and great a Council 'as this, which hath in it the life and spirit of these Nations, 'such 'good' may be attained, and such 'evil,' whatever it 'is, may be obviated. [*Truly!*] We shall hardly set our 'shoulders to this work, unless it shall please God to work 'some conviction upon our hearts that *there is need* of our 'most serious and best counsels at such a time as this is!—

'I have not prepared any such matter and rule of speech 'to deliver myself unto you, as perhaps might have been fitter 'for me to have done, and more serviceable for you in 'understanding me;—but shall only speak plainly and honestly 'to you out of such conceptions as it hath pleased God to set 'upon me.

'We have not been now four years and upwards in this 'Government, to be totally ignorant of what things may be 'of the greatest concernment to us. [*No mortal thinks so, 'your Highness!*] Your dangers,—for that is the head of 'my speech,—are either with respect to Affairs Abroad and 'their difficulties, or to Affairs at Home and their difficulties. 'You are come now, as I may say, into the end [*Which may 'but prove the new beginning!*] of as great difficulties and 'straits as, I think, ever Nation was engaged in. I had in 'my thoughts to have made this the method of my Speech: 'To have let you see the things which hazard your Being, and '"those which hazard" your Well-being. But when I came 'seriously to consider better of it, I thought, as your affairs 'stand, all things would resolve themselves into very Being! 'You are not a Nation, you will not be a Nation, if God 'strengthen you not to meet these evils that are upon us!

'First, from Abroad: What are the Affairs, I beseech you, 'abroad? I thought the Profession of the Protestant Religion 'was a thing of 'Well-being'; and truly, in a good sense, so 'it is, and it is no more: though it be a very high thing, it

'is but a thing of 'Well-being.' [*A Nation can still* BE, *even 'without Protestantism.*] But take it with all the complica-'tions of it, with all the concomitants of it, with respect had 'to the Nations abroad,—I do believe, he that looks well 'about him, and considereth the estate of the Protestant 'Affairs all Christendom over; he must needs say and acknow-'ledge that the grand Design now on foot, in comparison 'with which all other Designs are but low things, is, Whether 'the Christian world shall be all Popery? Or, whether God 'hath a love to, and we ought to have "a love to, and" a 'brotherly fellow-feeling of, the interests of all the Protestant 'Christians in the world? [*Yes, your Highness; the raging sea shut out by your labour and valour and death-peril,—with what indifference do we now, safe at two-centuries distance, look back upon it, hardly audible so far off,—ungrateful as we 'are!*] He that strikes at but one species of a general[1] to 'make it nothing, strikes at all.

'Is it not so now, that the Protestant Cause and Interest 'abroad is struck-at; and is, in opinion and apprehension, 'quite under foot, trodden down? Judge with me a little, I 'beseech you, Whether it be so or no. And then, I will pray 'you, consider how far *we* are concerned in that danger, as to '"our very" Being!

'We have known very well, the Protestant Cause is 'accounted the honest and religious Interest of this Nation. 'It was not trodden under foot all at once, but by degrees, '—that this Interest might be consumed as with a canker 'insensibly, as Jonah's gourd was, till it was quite withered. 'It is at another rate now! For certainly this, in the general, '"is the fact": The Papacy, and those that are upholders 'of it, they have openly and avowedly trodden God's people 'under foot, on this very motion and account, that they were 'Protestants. The money you parted-with in that noble 'Charity which was exercised in this Nation, and the just 'sense you had of those poor Piedmonts, was satisfaction

[1] Means 'one limb of a body': metaphysical metaphor.

'enough to yourselves of this,[1] That if all the Protestants in 'Europe had had but that head, that head had been cut off, 'and so an end of the whole. But is this "of Piedmont" 'all? No. Look how the House of Austria, on both sides of 'Christendom, "both in Austria Proper and Spain," are armed 'and prepared to destroy the whole Protestant Interest.

'Is not,—to begin there,—the King of Hungary, who 'expecteth with his partisans to make himself Emperor of 'Germany, and in the judgment of all men "with" not only 'a possibility but a certainty of the acquisition of it,—is not 'he, since he hath mastered the Duke of Brandenburg, one of 'the Electors, "as good as sure of the Emperorship"?[2] No 'doubt but he will have three of the Episcopal Electors "on 'his side," and the Duke of Bavaria. [*There are but Eight 'Electors in all; Hanover not yet made.*] Whom will he then 'have to contest with him abroad, for taking the Empire of 'Germany out of his hands? Is not he the son of a Father 'whose principles, interest and personal conscience guided him 'to exile all the Protestants out of his own patrimonial 'country,—out of Bohemia, got with the sword; out of 'Moravia and Silesia? [*Ferdinand the Second, his Grand-father; yea, your Highness;—and brought the great Gustavus upon him in consequence. Not a good kindred that!*] '"And" it is the daily complaint which comes over to us,— 'new reiterations of which we have but received within these 'two or three days, being conveyed by some godly Ministers of 'the City, That the Protestants are tossed out of Poland into 'the Empire; and out thence whither they can fly to get their 'bread; and are ready to perish for want of food.

'And what think you of the other side of Europe, Italy to

[1] proof enough that you believed.

[2] Emperor Ferdinand III., under whom the Peace of Westphalia was made, had died this year; his second son, Leopold, on the death of the first son, had been made King of Hungary in 1655; he was, shortly after this, elected Emperor, Leopold I., and reigned till 1705. 'Brandenburg' was Frederick William; a distinguished Prince; father of the First King of Prussia; Frederick the Great's great-grandfather; properly the Founder of the Prussian Monarchy.

'wit,—if I may call it the other side of Europe, as I think I 'may,—"Italy," Spain, and all those adjacent parts, with 'the Grisons, the Piedmonts before mentioned, the Switzers? 'They all,—what are they but a prey of the Spanish power 'and interest? And look to that that calls itself [*Neuter 'gender*] the Head of all this! A Pope fitted,—I hope 'indeed 'born' not '*in*' but out of 'due time,' to accomplish 'this bloody work; so that he may fill-up his cup to the brim, 'and make himself ripe for judgment! [*Somewhat grim of 'look, your Highness!*] He doth as *he* hath always done. 'He influences all the Powers, all the Princes of Europe to 'this very thing [*Rooting-out of the Protestants.—The sea which is now scarcely audible to us, two safe centuries off, how it roars and devouringly rages while this Valiant One is heroically bent to bank it in!—He prospers, he does it, flings his life into the gap,—that* WE *for all coming centuries may 'be safe and ungrateful!*];—and no man like this present 'man.[1] So that, I beseech you, what is there in all the parts 'of Europe but a consent, a coöperating, at this very time and 'season, "of all Popish Powers" to suppress everything that 'stands in their way? [*A grave epoch indeed.*]

'But it may be said, 'This is a great way off, in the 'extremest parts of the world;[2] what is that to us?'—If it 'be nothing to you, let it be nothing to you! I have told 'you it is somewhat to you. It concerns all your religions, 'and all the good interests of England.

'I have, I thank God, considered, and I would beg of you 'to consider a little with me: What that resistance is that is 'likely to be made to this mighty current, which seems to be 'coming from all parts upon all Protestants? Who is there 'that holdeth up his head to oppose this danger? A poor 'Prince [*Charles X. King of Sweden; at present attacked by the 'King of Denmark; the Dutch also aiming at him*];—indeed

[1] Alexander VII.; 'an able Pope,' Dryasdust informs me.

[2] 'parts of it' in orig.

'poor; but a man in his person as gallant, and truly I think I 'may say as good, as any these last ages have brought forth; a 'man that hath adventured his all against the Popish Interest 'in Poland, and made his acquisition still good "there" for 'the Protestant Religion. He is now reduced into a corner: 'and what addeth to the grief of all,—more grievous than 'all that hath been spoken of before (I wish it may not be 'too truly said!)—is, That men of our Religion forget this, 'and seek his ruin. [*Dutch and Danes: but do not some of us too forget? 'I wish it may not be too truly said!'*]

'I beseech you consider a little; consider the consequences 'of all that! For what doth it all signify? Is it only a 'noise? Or hath it not withal an articulate sound in it? 'Men that are not true to the Religion we profess,—"pro-'fess," I am persuaded, with greater truth, uprightness and 'sincerity than it is "professed" by any collected body, so 'nearly gathered together as these Nations are, in all the 'world,—God will find them out! [*The low-minded Dutch; pettifogging for 'Sound Dues,' for 'Possession of the Sound,' 'and mere shopkeeper lucre!*] I beseech you consider how 'things do coöperate. "Consider," If this may seem but a 'design against your Well-being? It is a design against your 'very Being; this artifice, and this complex design, against 'the Protestant Interest,—wherein so many Protestants are 'not so right as were to be wished! If they can shut us out 'of the Baltic Sea, and make themselves masters of that, where 'is your Trade? Where are your materials to preserve 'your Shipping? Where will you be able to challenge any 'right by sea, or justify yourselves against a foreign invasion 'in your own soil? Think upon it; this is in design! I 'believe, if you will go and ask the poor mariner in his red 'cap and coat ['*Coat,' I hope, is not 'red':—but we are in 'haste*], as he passeth from ship to ship, you will hardly find 'in any ship but they will tell you this is designed against 'you. So obvious is it, by this and other things, that you 'are the object. And in my conscience, I know not for what

'else 'you are so' but because of the purity of the profession 'amongst you; who have not yet made it your trade to prefer 'your profit before your godliness [*Whatever certain Dutch and 'Danes may do!*], but reckon godliness the *greater* gain!

'But should it happen that, as contrivances stand, you 'should not be able to vindicate yourselves against all whom-'soever,—I name no one state upon this head [*Do not name 'the Dutch, with their pettifoggings for the Sound; no!*], but 'I think all acknowledge States *are* engaged in the combina-'tion,—judge you where you were! You have accounted 'yourselves happy in being environed with a great Ditch from 'all the world beside. Truly you will not be able to keep 'your Ditch, nor your Shipping,—unless you turn your Ships 'and Shipping into Troops of Horse and Companies of Foot; 'and fight to defend yourselves on *terra firma*!—

'And these things stated, *liberavi animam meam*; and if 'there be 'no danger' in "all" this, I am satisfied. I have 'told you; you will judge if no danger! If you shall think, 'We may discourse of all things at pleasure,—[*Debate for days and weeks, Whether it shall be 'House of Lords' or 'Other House'; put the question, Whether this question shall be put; and say Ay, say No; and thrash the air with idle 'jargon!*],—and that it is a time of sleep and ease and rest, 'without any due sense of these things,—I have this comfort 'to God-ward: I have told you of it. [*Yes, your Highness! —O intemperate vain Sir Arthur, peppery Thomas Scott, and ye other constitutional Patriots, is there no* SENSE *of truth in you, then; no discernment of what really is what? Instead of belief and insight, have you nothing but whirlpools of old paper-clippings, and a gray waste of Parliamentary constitutional logic? Such* HEADS, *too common in the world, will run a chance in these times to get themselves—stuck up on Temple Bar!*]

'Really, were it not that France (give me leave to say it) 'is a balance against that Party at this time—!—Should there 'be a Peace made (which hath been, and is still laboured

'and aimed-at, a 'General Peace'), then will England be the
'general' object of all the fury and wrath of all the Enemies
'of God and our Religion in the world! I have nobody to
'accuse;—but do look on the other side of the water! You
'have neighbours there; some that you are in amity with;
'some that have professed malice enough against you. I
'think you are fully satisfied in that. I had rather you
'would trust your enemy than some friends,—that is, rather
'believe your enemy, and trust *him* that he means your
'ruin, than have confidence in some who perhaps may be
'in some alliance with you! [*We have watched the Dutch,
'and their dealings in the Baltic lately!*]—I perhaps could
'enforce all this with some particulars, nay I "certainly"
'could. For you know that your enemies be the same who
'have been accounted your enemies ever since Queen Eliza-
'beth came to the crown. An avowed designed enemy "all
'along"; wanting nothing of counsel, wisdom and prudence,
'to root you out from the face of the Earth: and when public
'attempts [*Spanish Armadas and suchlike*] would not do, how
'have they, by the Jesuits and other their Emissaries, laid
'foundations to perplex and trouble our Government by
'taking away the lives of them whom they judged to be of
'any use for preserving our peace! [*Guy Faux and Jesuit
Garnet were a pair of pretty men; to go no farther. Ravaillac
in the Rue de la Ferronerie, and Stadtholder William's Jesuit;
and the Night of St. Bartholomew: here and elsewhere they
'have not wanted 'counsel,' of a sort!*] And at this time I
'ask you, Whether you do not think they are designing as
'busily as ever any people were, to prosecute the same coun-
'sels and things to the uttermost?

'The business *then* was: The Dutch needed Queen Eliza-
'beth of famous memory for their protection. They had it,
'"had protection from her." I hope they will never ill
'requite it! For if they should forget either the kindness
'that was then shown them (which was their real safety), or
'the desires this Nation hath had to be at peace with them,

'—truly I believe whoever exercises any ingratitude in this 'sort will hardly prosper in it. [*He cannot, your Highness: unless* GOD *and His* TRUTH *be a mere Hearsay of the market,* 'he never can!] But this may awaken you, howsoever. I 'hope you will be awakened, upon all these considerations! 'It is certain, they [*These Dutch*] have professed a principle 'which, thanks be to God, we never knew. They will sell 'arms to their enemies, and lend their ships to their enemies. 'They will do so. And truly that principle is not a matter 'of dispute at this time, "we are not here to argue with 'them about it": only let everything weigh with your spirits 'as it ought;—let it do so. And we must tell you, we do 'know that this, "of their having such a principle," is *true.* 'I dare assure you of it; and I think if but your Exchange 'here "in London" were resorted-to, it would let you know, 'as clearly as you can desire to know, That they have hired— 'sloops, I think they call them, or some other name—they 'have hired sloops, "let sloops on hire," to transport upon 'you Four-thousand Foot and a Thousand Horse, upon the 'pretended interest of that young man that was the late 'King's Son. [*What a designation for 'Charles by the grace of God'! The 'was' may possibly have been 'is' when 'spoken; but we cannot afford to change it.*] And this is, I 'think, a thing far from being reckonable as a suggestion to 'any ill end or purpose:—a thing to no other end than that 'it may awaken you to a just consideration of your danger, 'and to uniting for a just and natural defence.

'Indeed I never did, I hope I never shall, use any artifice 'with you to pray you to help us with money for defending 'ourselves: but if money be needful, I will tell you, 'Pray 'help us with money, that the Interest of the Nation may 'be defended abroad and at home.' I will use no argu- 'ments; and thereby will disappoint the artifice of bad men 'abroad who say, It is for money. Whosoever shall think 'to put things out of frame upon such a suggestion—[*His 'fate may be guessed; but the Sentence is off*]—For you will

'find I will be very plain with you before I have done; and 'that with all love and affection and faithfulness to you and 'these Nations.

'If this be the condition of your affairs abroad, I pray a 'little consider what is the estate of your affairs at home. 'And if both these considerations, "of home affairs and 'foreign," have but this effect, to *get* a consideration among 'you, a due and just consideration,—let God move your 'hearts for the answering[1] of anything that shall be due 'unto the Nation, as He shall please! And I hope I shall 'not be solicitous [*The 'artifice' and 'money' of the former paragraph still sounding somewhat in his Highness's ears*]; 'I shall look up to Him who hath been my God and my 'Guide hitherto.

'I say, I beseech you look to your own affairs at home, 'how they stand! I am persuaded you are all, I apprehend 'you are all, honest and worthy good men; and that there 'is not a man of you but would desire to be found a good 'patriot. I know you would! We are apt to boast some-'times that we are Englishmen: and truly it is no shame for 'us that we are Englishmen;—but it is a motive to us to 'do like Englishmen, and seek the real good of this Nation, 'and the interest of it. [*Truly!*]—But, I beseech you, what 'is our case at home?——I profess I do not well know 'where to begin on this head, or where to end,—I do not, 'But I must needs say, Let a man begin where he will, he 'shall hardly be out of that drift I am speaking to you '"upon." We are as full of calamities, and of divisions 'among us in respect of the spirits of men, "as we could 'well be,"—though, through a wonderful, admirable, and 'never to be sufficiently admired providence of God, "still" 'in peace! And the fighting we have had, and the success we 'have had—yea, we that are here, we are an astonishment to 'the world! And take us in that temper we are in, or rather

[1] performing on such demand.

'in that distemper, it is the greatest miracle that ever befell 'the sons of men, "that we are got again to peace"—'

['Beautiful great Soul,' exclaims a modern Commentator here, 'Beautiful great Soul; to whom the Temporal is all irradiated with the Eternal, and God is everywhere divinely visible in the affairs of men, and man himself has as it were become divine! O ye eternal Heavens, have those days and those souls passed away without return?—Patience: intrinsically they can never pass away: intrinsically they remain with us; and will yet, in nobler unexpected form, reappear among us,—if it please Heaven! There *have been* Divine Souls in England; England too, poor moiling toiling heavy-laden thick-eyed England has been illuminated, though it were but once, by the Heavenly Ones;—and *once*, in a sense, is always!']

'—that we are got again to peace. And whoever shall seek 'to break it, God Almighty root that man out of this Nation! 'And He will do it, let the pretences be what they may! [*Privilege of Parliament, or whatever else, my peppery friends!*]

'"Peace-breakers, do they consider what it *is* they are 'driving towards? They should do it!" He that considereth 'not the 'woman with child,'—the sucking children of this 'Nation that know not the right hand from the left, of 'whom, for aught I know, it may be said this City is as full 'as Nineveh was said to be;—he that considereth not these, 'and the fruit that is like to come of the bodies of those 'now living added to these; he that considereth not these, 'must have the heart of a Cain; who was marked, and made 'to be an enemy to all men, and all men enemies to him! 'For the wrath and justice of God will prosecute such a man 'to his grave, if not to Hell! [*Where is Sam Cooper, or some 'prince of limners,' to take us that look of his Highness? I would give my ten best High-Art Paintings for it, gilt frames 'and twaddle-criticisms into the bargain!*]—I say, look on this 'Nation; look on it! Consider what are the varieties of

'Interests in this Nation,—if they be worthy the name of 'Interests. If God did not hinder, it would all but make up 'one confusion. We should find there would be but one 'Cain in England, if God did not restrain! We should have 'another more bloody Civil War than ever we had in England. 'For, I beseech you, what is the general spirit of this Nation? 'Is it not that each sect of people,—if I may call them sects, 'whether sects upon a Religious account or upon a Civil 'account—[*Sentence gone; meaning left clear enough*]—Is not 'this Nation miserable in that respect? What is that which 'possesseth every sect? What is it? That every sect may 'be uppermost! That every sort of men may get the 'power into their hands, and 'they would use it well';— 'that every sect may get the power into their hands! [*A reflection to make one wonder.—Let them thank God they have got a man able to bit and bridle them a little; the unfortunate, peppery, loud-babbling individuals,—with so much good in them too, while 'bitted'!*]

'It were a happy thing if the Nation would be content 'with rule. "Content with rule," if it were but in Civil 'things, and with those that would rule *worst*;—because 'misrule is better than no rule; and an ill Government, a 'bad Government, is better than none!—Neither is this all: 'but we have an appetite to variety; to be not only making 'wounds, "but widening those already made." As if you 'should see one making wounds in a man's side, and eager 'only to be groping and grovelling with his fingers in those 'wounds! This is what "such" men would be at; this is 'the spirit of those who would trample on men's liberties in 'Spiritual respects. They will be making wounds, and rend- 'ing and tearing, and making them wider than they were. Is 'not this the case? Doth there want anything—I speak not 'of sects in an ill sense; but the Nation is hugely made up 'of them,—and what is the want that prevents these things 'from being done to the uttermost, but that men have more 'anger than strength? They have not power to attain their

'ends. "There wants nothing else." And, I beseech you, 'judge what such a company of men, of these sects, are doing, 'while they are contesting one with another! They are con-'testing in the midst of a generation of men (a malignant 'Episcopal Party, I mean); contesting in the midst of these '*all united.* What must be the issue of such a thing as this? '"So stands it"; it is *so.*—And do but judge what proofs 'have been made of the spirits of these men. [*Republican spirits: we took a 'Standard' lately, a Painted one, and a 'Printed, with wondrous apparatus behind it!*] Summoning 'men to take up arms; and exhorting men, each sort of them, 'to fight for their notions; each sort thinking they are to 'try it out by the sword; and every sort thinking that *they* 'are truly under the banner of Christ, if they but come in, 'and bind themselves in such a project![1]

'Now do but judge what a hard condition this poor Nation 'is in. *This* is the state and condition we are in. Judge, I 'say, what a hard condition this poor Nation is in, and the 'Cause of God "is in,"—amidst such a party of men as the 'Cavaliers are, and their participants! Not only with respect 'to what these—['*Cavaliers and their Participants,' both equally at first, but it becomes the latter chiefly, and at length 'exclusively, before the Sentence ends*]—are like to do of them-'selves: but some of these, yea some of these, they care not 'who carry the goal [*Frantic-Anabaptist Sexby, dead the other 'day, he was not very careful!*]:—some of these have invited 'the Spaniard himself to carry on the Cavalier Cause.

'And this is *true.* "This" and many other things that 'are not fit to be suggested unto you; because "so" we 'should betray the interest of our intelligence. [*Spy-Royalist Sir Richard Willis and the like ambiguous persons, if we show them in daylight, they vanish forever,—as Manning, 'when they shot him in Neuburg, did.*] I say, this is your 'condition! What is your defence? What hindereth the 'irruption of all this upon you, to your utter destruction?

[1] 'and oblige upon this account' in orig.

'Truly, "that" you have an army in these parts,—in Scotland, 'in England and Ireland. Take *them* away tomorrow, would 'not all these Interests run into one another?—I know you 'are rational prudent men. Have you any Frame or Model 'of things that would satisfy the minds of men, if *this* be not 'the Frame, "this" which you are now called together upon, 'and engaged in,—I mean, the Two Houses of Parliament 'and myself? What hinders this Nation from being an 'Aceldama, "a field of blood," if this doth not? It is, without 'doubt, "this": give the glory to God; for without this, 'it would prove[1] as great a plague as all that hath been 'spoken of. It is this, without doubt, that keeps this 'Nation in peace and quietness.—And what is the case of 'your Army "withal"? A poor unpaid Army; the soldiers 'going barefoot at this time, in this city, this weather! '[*Twenty-fifth of January.*] And yet a peaceable people, '"these soldiers"; seeking to serve you with their lives; 'judging their pains and hazards and all well bestowed, in 'obeying their officers and serving you, to keep the Peace of 'these Nations! Yea, he must be a man with a heart as 'hard as the weather who hath not a due sense of this! [*A 'severe frost, though the Almanacs do not mention it.*] — —

'So that, I say, it is most plain and evident, this is your 'outward and present defence. [*This frame of Government; 'the Army is a part of that.*] And yet, at this day,—do but 'you judge! The Cavalier Party, and the several humours 'of unreasonable men "of other sorts," in those several ways, 'having "continually" made battery at this defence ever since 'you got to enjoy peace—[*Sentence catches fire*] — — What 'have they made their business but this, To spread libellous 'Books [*Their 'Standard,' 'Killing no Murder,' and other little fiddling things belonging to that sort of Periodical 'Literature*]; yea and pretend the 'Liberty of the Subject'— '[*Sentence gone again*]—?—which really wiser men than they 'may pretend! For let me say this to you at once: I never

[1] 'it would prove' is an *im*personal verb; such as 'it will rain,' and the like.

'look to see the People of England come into a just Liberty, 'if another "Civil" War overtake us. I think, "I" at least, 'that the thing likely to bring us into our 'Liberty' is a 'consistency and agreement at this Meeting!—Therefore all 'I can say to you is this: It will be your wisdom, I do think 'truly, and your justice, to keep that concernment close to 'you; to uphold this Settlement "now fallen-upon." Which 'I have no cause but to think you are agreed to; and that 'you like it. For I assure you I am very greatly mistaken 'else, "for my own part"; having taken this which is now 'the Settlement among us as my chief inducement to bear 'the burden I bear, and to serve the Commonwealth in the 'place I am in!

'And therefore if you judge that all this be not argument 'enough to persuade you to be sensible of your danger—?— '"A danger" which "all manner of considerations," besides 'goodnature and ingenuity "themselves," would move a stone 'to be sensible of!—Give us leave to consider a little, What 'will become of us, if our spirits should go *otherwise*, "and 'break this Settlement?" If our spirits be dissatisfied, what 'will become of things? Here is an Army five or six months 'behind in pay; yea, an Army in Scotland near as much '"behind"; an Army in Ireland much more. And if these 'things be considered,—I cannot doubt but they will be con-'sidered;—I say, judge what the state of Ireland is if free-'quarter come upon the Irish People! [*Free-quarter must 'come, if there be no pay provided, and that soon!*] You 'have a company of Scots in the North of Ireland, "Forty 'or Fifty thousand of them settled there"; who, I hope, are 'honest men. In the Province of Galway almost all the Irish, 'transplanted to the West.[1] You have the Interest of Eng-'land newly begun to be planted. The people there, "in 'these English settlements," are full of necessities and com-'plaints. They bear to the uttermost. And should the

[1] 'All the Irish'; all the Malignant Irish, the ringleaders of the Popish Rebellion: Galway is here called 'Galloway.'

'soldiers run upon free-quarter there,—upon your English 'Planters, as they must,—the English Planters must quit the 'country through mere beggary: and that which hath been 'the success of so much blood and treasure, to get that 'Country into your hands, what can become of it, but that 'the English must needs run away for pure beggary, and the 'Irish must possess the country "again" for a receptacle to 'the Spanish Interest?—

'And hath Scotland been long settled? [*Middleton's Highland Insurrection, with its Mosstroopery and misery, is not 'dead three years yet.*[1]] Have not they a like sense of poverty? 'I speak plainly. In good earnest, I do think the Scots 'Nation have been under as great a suffering, in point of 'livelihood and subsistence outwardly, as any People I have 'yet named to you. I do think truly they are a very ruined 'Nation. [*Torn to pieces with now near Twenty Years of continual War, and foreign and intestine worrying with them-'selves and with all the world.*]—And yet in a way (I have 'spoken with some Gentlemen come from thence) hopeful 'enough;—it hath pleased God to give that plentiful en-'couragement to the meaner sort in Scotland. I must say, 'if it please God to encourage the meaner sort—[*The conse-'quences may be foreseen, but are not stated here.*]— —The 'meaner sort "in Scotland" live as well, and are likely to 'come into as thriving a condition under your Government, 'as when they were under their own great Lords, who made 'them work for their living no better than the Peasants of 'France. I am loath to speak anything which may reflect 'upon that Nation: but the middle sort of people do grow up 'there into such a substance as makes their lives comfortable, 'if not better than they were before. [*Scotland is prospering; has fair-play and ready-money;—prospering though sulky.*]

'If now, after all this, we shall not be sensible of all those 'designs that are in the midst of us: of the *united* Cavaliers; 'of the designs which are animated every day from Flanders

[1] Feb. 1654-5 (Whitlocke, p. 599).

'and Spain; while we have to look upon ourselves as a *divided* 'people—[*Sentence off*]—A man cannot certainly tell where 'to find consistency anywhere in England! Certainly there 'is no consistency in anything, that may be worthy of the 'name of a body of consistency, but in this Company who 'are met here! How can any man lay his hand on his heart, 'and "permit himself to" talk of things [*Roots of Constitutional Government*, '*Other House*,' '*House of Lords*' *and* '*suchlike*], neither to be made out by the light of Scripture 'nor of Reason; and draw one another off from considering 'of *these* things,—"which are very palpable things"! I dare 'leave them with you, and commit them to your bosom. 'They have a weight,—a greater weight than any I have yet 'suggested to you, from abroad or at home! If such be our 'case abroad and at home, That our Being and Well-being, '—our Well-being is not worth the naming comparatively,— 'I say, if such be our case, of our Being at home and abroad, 'That through want to bear up our Honour at Sea, and 'through want to maintain what is our Defence at Home, '"we stand exposed to such dangers"; and if through our 'mistake we shall be led off from the consideration of these 'things; and talk of circumstantial things, and quarrel about 'circumstances; and shall not with heart and soul intend and 'carry-on these things—!—I confess I can look for nothing '"other," I can say no other than what a foolish Book[1] ex- 'presseth, of one that having consulted everything, could hold 'to nothing; neither Fifth-Monarchy, Presbytery, nor Indepen- 'dency, nothing; but at length concludes, He is for nothing 'but an 'orderly confusion'! And for men that have won- 'derfully lost their consciences and their wits,—I speak of men 'going about who cannot tell *what* they would have, yet are 'willing to kindle coals to disturb others—! [*An* '*orderly confusion*,' *and general fire-consummation: what else is possible?*]

[1] Now rotting probably, or rotten, among the other Pamphletary rubbish, in the crypts of Public Dryasdust Collections,—all but this one phrase of it, here kept alive.

'And now having said this, I have discharged my duty to 'God and to you, in making this demonstration,—and I 'profess, not as a rhetorician! My business was to prove 'the verity of the Designs from Abroad; and the still un-'satisfied spirits of the Cavaliers at Home,—who from the 'beginning of our Peace to this day have not been wanting 'to do what they could to kindle a fire at home in the midst 'of us. And I say, if this be so, the truth,—I pray God 'affect your hearts with a due sense of it! [*Yea!*] And 'give you one heart and mind to carry-on this work for which 'we are met together! If these things be so,—should you 'meet tomorrow, and accord in all things tending to your 'preservation and your rights and liberties, really it will be 'feared there is too much time elapsed "already" for your 'delivering yourselves from those dangers that hang upon 'you!—

'We have had now Six Years of Peace, and have had an 'interruption of Ten Years *War*. We have seen and heard 'and felt the evils of War; and now God hath given us a 'new taste of the benefits of Peace. Have you not had such 'a Peace in England, Ireland and Scotland, that there is not 'a man to lift up his finger to put you into distemper? Is 'not this a mighty blessing from the Lord of Heaven? [*Hah!*] 'Shall we now be prodigal of time? Should any man, shall '*we*, listen to delusions, to break and interrupt this Peace? 'There is not any man that hath been true to this Cause, 'as I believe you have been all, who can look for anything 'but the greatest rending and persecution that ever was in 'this world! [*Peppery Scott's hot head will go up on Temple 'Bar, and Haselrig will do well to die soon.*[1]]—I wonder how 'it can enter into the heart of man to undervalue these 'things; to slight Peace and the Gospel, the greatest mercy 'of God. We have Peace and the Gospel! [*What a tone!*]

[1] He died in the *Annus Mirabilis* of 1660 itself, say the *Baronetages*. Worn to death, it is like, by the frightful vicissitudes and distracting excitement of those sad months.

'Let us have one heart and soul; one mind to maintain the 'honest and just rights of this Nation;—not to *pretend* to 'them, to the destruction of our Peace, to the destruction of 'the Nation! [*As yet there is one Hero-heart among you, ye blustering contentious rabble; one Soul blazing as a light-beacon in the midst of Chaos, forbidding Chaos yet to be supreme.* '*In a little while that too will be extinct; and then!*] Really, pre-'tend what we will, if you run into *another* flood of blood and 'War, the sinews of this Nation being wasted by the last, it 'must sink and perish utterly. I beseech you, and charge 'you in the name and presence of God, and as before Him, 'be sensible of these things and lay them to heart! You 'have a Day of Fasting coming on. I beseech God touch 'your hearts and open your ears to this truth; and that you 'may be as deaf adders to stop your ears to all Dissension! 'And may look upon them "who would sow dissension," who-'ever they may be, as Paul saith to the Church of Corinth,[1] 'as I remember: '*Mark* such as cause divisions and offences,' 'and would disturb you from that foundation of Peace you 'are upon, under any pretence whatsoever!—

'I shall conclude with this. I was free, the last time of 'our meeting, to tell you I would discourse upon a Psalm; 'and I did it.[2] I am not ashamed of it at any time [*Why should you, your Highness? A word that does speak to us from the eternal heart of things, 'word of God' as you well 'call it, is highly worth discoursing upon!*]—especially when I 'meet with men of such consideration as you. There you 'have one verse which I forgot. 'I will hear what God the 'Lord will speak: 'for He will speak peace unto His people 'and to His saints; but let them not turn again to *folly*.' 'Dissension, division, destruction, in a poor Nation under a 'Civil War,—having all the effects of a Civil War upon it! 'Indeed if we return again to 'folly,' let every man consider, 'If it be *not* like turning to destruction? If God shall

[1] Not 'Corinth' properly, but Rome (Romans xvi. 17).

[2] The Eighty-fifth; antea, pp. 143 et seqq.

'unite your hearts and bless you, and give you the blessing 'of union and love one to another; and tread-down every- 'thing that riseth up in your hearts and tendeth to deceive 'your own souls with pretences of this thing or that, as we 'have been saying,—[*The Sentence began as a positive, 'if God shall'; but gradually turning on its axis, it has now 'got quite round into the negative side*],—and not prefer 'the keeping of Peace, that we may see the fruit of right- 'eousness in them that love peace and embrace peace,—it will 'be said of this poor Nation, *Actum est de Anglia*, "It is all 'over with England"!

'But I trust God will never leave it to such a spirit. And 'while I live, and am able, I shall be ready'—

[Courage, my brave one! Thou hast but some Seven Months more of it, and then the ugly coil is all over; and thy part in it manfully done; manfully and fruitfully, to all Eternity! Peppery Scott's hot head can mount to Temple Bar, whither it is bound; and England, with immense expenditure of liquor and tar-barrels, can call-in its Nell-Gwynn Defender of the Faith,—and make out a very notable Two-hundred Years under *his* guidance; and, finding itself now nearly *got* to the Devil, may perhaps pause, and recoil, and remember: who knows? Nay who cares? may Oliver say, *He* is honourably quit of it, he for one; and the Supreme Powers will guide it farther according to their pleasure.]

'—I shall be ready to stand and fall with you, in this seem- 'ingly promising Union[1] which God hath wrought among you, 'which I hope neither the pride nor envy of men shall be able 'to make void. I have taken my Oath [*In Westminster Hall, 'Twenty-sixth of June last*] to govern 'according to the Laws' 'that are now made; and I trust I shall fully answer it. And 'know, I sought not this place. [*Who would have 'sought' it, that could have as nobly avoided it? Very scurvy creatures*

[1] The new Frame of Government.

only. The 'place' is no great things, I think;—with either Heaven or else Hell so close upon the rear of it, a man might do without the 'place'! Know all men, Oliver Cromwell did not seek this place, but was sought to it, and led and driven to it, by the Necessities, the Divine Providences, the Eternal 'Laws.] I speak it before God, Angels, and Men: I DID NOT. 'You sought me for it, you brought me to it; and I took my 'Oath to be faithful to the Interest of these Nations, to be 'faithful to the Government. All those things were implied, 'in my eye, in the Oath 'to be faithful to this Government' 'upon which we have now met. And I trust, by the grace 'of God, as I have taken my Oath to serve this Commonwealth 'on such an account, I shall,—I must!—see it done, according 'to the Articles of Government. That every just Interest 'may be preserved; that a Godly Ministry may be upheld, 'and not affronted by seducing and seduced spirits; that all 'men may be preserved in their just rights, whether civil or 'spiritual. Upon this account did I take oath, and swear 'to this Government!—[*And mean to continue administering it 'withal.*]—And so having declared my heart and mind to you 'in this, I have nothing more to say, but to pray, God 'Almighty bless you.' *

His Highness, a few days after, on occasion of some Reply to a Message of his 'concerning the state of the Public Moneys,' —was formally requested by the Commons to furnish them with a Copy of this Speech:[1] he answered that he did not remember four lines of it in a piece, and that he could not furnish a Copy. Some Copy would nevertheless have been got up, had the Parliament continued sitting. Rushworth, Smythe, and 'I' (the Writer of *Burton's Diary*), we, so soon as the Speech was done, went to York House; Fairfax's Town-house, where historical John, brooding over endless Paper-masses, and doing occasional Secretary work, still lodges: here at York

* Burton, ii. 351-71.

[1] Thursday 28th Jan. 1657-8 (*Parliamentary History*, xxi. 196; Burton, ii. 379).

House we sat together till late, 'comparing Notes of his Highness's Speech'; could not finish the business that night, our Notes being a little cramped. It was grown quite dark before his Highness had done; so that we could hardly see our pencils go, at the time.[1]

The Copy given here is from the *Pell Papers*, and in part from an earlier Original; first printed by Burton's Editor; and now reproduced, with slight alterations of the pointing etc., such as were necessary here and there to bring out the sense, but not such as could change anything that had the least title to remain unchanged.

SPEECH XVIII

His Highness's last noble appeal, the words as of a strong great Captain addressed in the hour of imminent shipwreck, produced no adequate effect. The dreary Debate, supported chiefly by intemperate Haselrig, peppery Scott, and future-renegade Robinson, went on, trailing its slow length day after day; daily widening itself, too, into new dreariness, new questionability: a kind of pain to read even at this distance, and with view of the intemperate hot heads actually *stuck* on Temple Bar! For the man in 'green oil-skin hat with night-cap under it,' the Duke of Ormond namely, who lodges at the Papist Chirurgeon's in Drury Lane, is very busy all this while. And Fifth-Monarchy and other Petitions are getting concocted in the City, to a great length indeed;—and there are stirrings in the Army itself;—and, in brief, the English Hydra, cherished by the Spanish Charles-Stuart Invasion, will shortly hiss sky-high again, if this continue!

As yet, however, there stands one strong Man between us and that issue. The strong Man gone, that issue, we may guess, will be inevitable; but he is not yet gone. For ten days more the dreary Debate has lasted. Various good Bills and Notices of Bills have been introduced; attempts on the

[1] Burton, ii. 351.

part of well-affected Members to do some useful legislation here ;[1] attempts which could not be accomplished. What could be accomplished was, to open the fountains of constitutional logic, and debate this question day after day. One or two intemperate persons, not excluded at the threshold, are of great moment in a Popular Assembly. The mind of which, if it have any mind, is one of the vaguest entities ; capable, in a very singular degree, of being made to ferment, to freeze, to take fire, to develop itself in this shape or in that ! The history of our Second Session, and indeed of these Oliverian Parliaments generally, is not exhilarating to the constitutional mind !—

But now on the tenth day of the Debate, with its noise growing ever noisier, on the 4th of February 1657-8, 'about eleven in the morning,'—while peppery Scott is just about to attempt yelping out some new second speech, and there are cries of 'Spoken ! spoken !' which Sir Arthur struggles to argue down,—arrives the Black Rod.—'The Black Rod stays!' cry some, while Sir Arthur is arguing for Scott.—'What care I for the Black Rod ?' snarls he : 'The Gentleman' (peppery Scott) 'ought to be heard.'—Black Rod, however, is heard first ; signifies that 'His Highness is in the Lords House, and desires to speak with you.' Under way therefore ! 'Shall we take our Mace ?' By all means, if you consider it likely to be useful for you ![2]

They take their Mace ; range themselves in due mass, in the 'Other House,' Lords House, or whatever they call it ; and his Highness, with a countenance of unusual earnestness, sorrow, resolution and severity, says :

'My Lords, and Gentlemen of the House of Commons,—'I had very comfortable expectations that God would make 'the meeting of this Parliament a blessing ; and, the Lord be

[1] *Parliamentary History*, xxi. 203-4.

[2] Burton, ii. 462 et seqq. ;—see also Tanner MSS. li. 1. for a more minute account.

'my witness, *I* desired the carrying-on the Affairs of the 'Nation to these ends! The blessing which I mean, and 'which we ever climbed at, was mercy, truth, righteousness 'and peace,—which I desired might be improved.

'That which brought me into the capacity I now stand 'in was the Petition and Advice given me by you; who, in 'reference to the ancient Constitution ['*Which had Two Houses and a King*,'—*though we do not in words mention that!*], did draw me to accept the place of Protector. ['*I was a kind of Protector already, I always understood; but let that pass. Certainly you invited me to become the Protector I now am, with Two Houses and other appendages, and there 'lies the gist of the matter at present.*'] There is not a man 'living can say I sought it; no, not a man nor woman tread- 'ing upon English ground. But contemplating the sad con- 'dition of these Nations, relieved from an intestine War into 'a six or seven years' Peace, I did think the Nation happy 'therein! ['*I did think even my first Protectorate was a 'successful kind of thing!*'] But to be petitioned thereunto, 'and advised by you to undertake such a Government, a burden 'too heavy for any creature; and this to be done by the 'House that then had the Legislative capacity:—certainly I 'did look that the same men who made the Frame should 'make it good unto me! I can say in the presence of God, 'in comparison with whom we are but like poor creeping 'ants upon the earth,—I would have been glad to have 'lived under my woodside, to have kept a flock of sheep—[*Yes, your Highness; it had been infinitely quieter, healthier, freer. But it is gone forever: no woodsides now, and peaceful nibbling sheep, and great still thoughts, and glimpses of God 'in the cool of the evening walking among the trees': nothing but toil and trouble, double, double, till one's discharge arrive, and the Eternal Portals open! Nay even there by your wood-side, you had not been happy; not you,—with thoughts going down to the Death-kingdoms, and Heaven so near you on this hand, and Hell so near you on that. Nay who would grudge*

a little temporary Trouble, when he can do a large spell of eternal Work? Work that is true, and will last through all Eternity! Complain not, your Highness!—His Highness does not complain. 'To have kept a flock of sheep,' he says]
'—rather than undertaken such a Government as this. But 'undertaking it by the Advice and Petition of you, I did look 'that you who had offered it unto me should make it good.

'I did tell you, at a Conference,[1] concerning it, that I 'would not undertake it, unless there might be some other 'Persons to interpose between me and the House of Commons, 'who then had the power, and prevent tumultuary and 'popular spirits: and it was granted I should name another 'House. I named it of men who shall meet you wheresoever 'you go, and shake hands with you; and tell you it is not 'Titles, nor Lords, nor Parties that they value, but a 'Christian and an English Interest! Men of your own rank 'and quality, who will not only be a balance unto you, but 'a new force added to you,[2] while you love England and 'Religion.

'Having proceeded upon these terms;—and finding such a 'spirit as is too much predominant, everything being too high 'or too low; where virtue, honesty, piety and justice are 'omitted:—I thought I had been doing that which was my 'duty, and thought it would have satisfied you! But if 'everything must be too high or too low, you are not to be 'satisfied. [*There is an innocency and childlike goodness in these poor sentences, which speaks to us in spite of rhetoric.*]

'Again, I would not have accepted of the Government, 'unless I knew there would be a just accord between the 'Governor and Governed; unless they would take an Oath 'to make good what the Parliament's Petition and Advice 'advised me unto! Upon that I took an Oath [*On the 'Twenty-sixth of June last*], and they [*On the Twentieth of*

[1] One of the Kingship Conferences of which there is no Report.

[2] 'but to themselves,' however helplessly, must mean this; and a good reporter would have substituted this.

'*January last, at their long Table in the Anteroom*] took 'another Oath upon their part answerable to mine:—and did 'not everyone know upon what condition he swore? God 'knows, *I* took it upon the conditions expressed in the "Act 'of" Government! And I did think we had been upon a 'foundation, and upon a bottom; and thereupon I thought 'myself bound to take it, and to be 'advised by the Two 'Houses of Parliament.' And we standing unsettled till we 'arrived at that, the consequences would necessarily have 'been confusion, if that had not been settled. Yet there 'were not constituted 'Hereditary Lords,' nor 'Hereditary 'Kings'; "no," the Power consisteth in the Two Houses and 'myself.—I do not say, that was the meaning of your Oath 'to *you*. That were to go against my own principles, to 'enter upon another man's conscience. God will judge be-'tween you and me! If there had been in you any intention 'of Settlement, you would have settled upon this basis, and 'have offered your judgment and opinion, "as to minor 'improvements."

'God is my witness; I speak it; it is evident to all the 'world and people living, That a new business hath been 'seeking in the Army against this actual Settlement made by 'your consent. I do not speak to these Gentlemen ['*Point-'ing to his right hand,*' *says the Report*], or Lords, or what-'soever you will call them; I speak not this to them, but to '*you*.—You advised me to come into this place, to be in a 'capacity[1] by your Advice. Yet instead of owning a thing, 'some must have I know not what;—and you have not only 'disjointed yourselves but the whole Nation, which is in 'likelihood of running into more confusion in these fifteen or 'sixteen days that you have sat, than it hath been from the 'rising of the last Session to this day. Through the intention 'of devising a Commonwealth again! That some people 'might be the men that might rule all! [*Intemperate Haselrig, peppery Scott, and suchlike: very inadequate they to* 'rule';

[1] 'of authority' is delicately understood, but not expressed.

inadequate to keep their own heads on their shoulders, if they ‘ *were not* RULED, *they!*] And they are endeavouring to ‘ engage the Army to carry that thing.—And hath that man ‘ been ‘ true to this Nation,’ whosoever he be, especially that ‘ hath taken an Oath, thus to prevaricate? These designs ‘ have been made among the Army, to break and divide us. ‘ I speak this in the presence of some of the Army: That ‘ these things have not been according to God, nor according ‘ to truth, pretend what you will! [*No, your Highness; they* ‘ *have not.*] These things tend to nothing else but the playing ‘ of the King of Scots’ game (if I may so call him); and I ‘ think myself bound before God to do what I can to prevent ‘ it. [‘*I, for my share*’: *Yea!*]

‘ That which I told you in the Banqueting-House “ten ‘ days ago” was true, That there are preparations of force to ‘ invade us. God is my witness, it hath been confirmed to ‘ me since, not a day ago, That the King of Scots hath an ‘ Army at the water’s side, ready to be shipped for England. ‘ I have it from those who have been eyewitnesses of it. And ‘ while it is doing, there are endeavours from some who are ‘ not far from this place, to stir-up the people of this Town ‘ into a tumulting—[*City Petitions are mounting very high,* ‘ *—as perhaps Sir Arthur and others know!*]—what if I said, ‘ Into a rebellion! And I hope I shall make it appear to be ‘ no better, if God assist me. [*Noble scorn and indignation is gradually getting the better of every other feeling in his Highness and us.*]

‘ It hath been not only your endeavour to pervert the ‘ Army while you have been sitting, and to draw them to ‘ state the question about a ‘ Commonwealth’; but some of ‘ you have been listing of persons, by commission of Charles ‘ Stuart, to join with any Insurrection that may be made. [*What a cold qualm in some conscious heart that listens to this! Let him tremble, every joint of him;—or not visibly tremble; but cower home to his place, and repent; and remember in whose hand his beggarly existence in this world*

'*lies!*] And what is like to come upon this, the Enemy 'being ready to invade us, but even present blood and con-'fusion?—[*The next and final Sentence is partly on fire*]— 'And if this be so, I do assign "it" to this cause: Your not 'assenting to what you did invite me to by your Petition and 'Advice, as that which might prove the Settlement of the 'Nation. And if this be the end of your sitting, and this be 'your carriage—[*Sentence now all beautifully blazing*], I think 'it high time that an end be put to your sitting. And I DO 'DISSOLVE THIS PARLIAMENT! And let God be judge between 'you and me.' *

Figure the looks of Haselrig, Scott and Company! 'The Mace was clapt under a cloak; the Speaker withdrew, and *exit Parliamentum*,' the Talking-Apparatus vanishes.[1] 'God be judge between you and me!'—'Amen!' answered they,[2] thought they, indignantly; and sank into eternal silence.

It was high time; for in truth the Hydra, on every side, is stirring its thousand heads. 'Believe me,' says Samuel Hartlib, Milton's friend, writing to an Official acquaintance next week, 'believe me, it was of such necessity, that if their Session had continued but two or three days longer, all had been in blood both in City and Country, upon Charles Stuart's account.'[3]

His Highness, before this Monday's sun sets, has begun to lodge the Anarchic Ringleaders, Royalist, Fifth-Monarchist, in the Tower; his Highness is bent once more with all his faculty, the Talking-Apparatus being gone, to front this Hydra, and trample it down once again.[4] On Saturday he summons his Officers, his Acting-Apparatus, to Whitehall round him; explains to them 'in a Speech two hours long'

* Burton, ii. 465-70.

[1] *Ibid.* ii. 464.

[2] Tradition in various modern Books (*Parliamentary History*, xxi. 203; Note to Burton, ii. 470); not supported, that I can find, by any contemporary witness.

[3] Hartlib in London (11th Feb. 1657-8) to Moreland at Geneva; printed in *Parliamentary History*, xxi. 205.

[4] Appendix, No. 31.

what kind of Hydra it is; asks, Shall it conquer us, involve us in blood and confusion? They answer from their hearts, No, it shall not! 'We will stand and fall with your Highness, we will live and die with you!'[1]—It is the last duel this Oliver has with any Hydra fomented into life by a Talking-Apparatus; and he again conquers it, invincibly compresses it, as he has heretofore done.

One day, in the early days of March next, his Highness said to Lord Broghil: An old friend of yours is in Town, the Duke of Ormond, now lodged in Drury Lane, at the Papist Surgeon's there: you had better tell him to be gone![2]—Whereat his Lordship stared; found it a fact, however; and his Grace of Ormond did go with exemplary speed, and got again to Bruges and the Sacred Majesty, with report That Cromwell had many enemies, but that the rise of the Royalists was moonshine. And on the 12th of the month his Highness had the Mayor and Common Council with him in a body at Whitehall; and 'in a Speech at large' explained to them that his Grace of Ormond was gone only 'on Tuesday last'; that there were Spanish Invasions, Royalist Insurrections and Frantic-Anabaptist Insurrections rapidly ripening;—that it would well beseem the City of London to have its Militia in good order. To which the Mayor and Common Council, 'being very sensible thereof,' made zealous response[3] by speech and by act. In a word, the Talking-Apparatus being gone, and an Oliver Protector now at the head of the Acting-Apparatus, no Insurrection, in the eyes of reasonable persons, had any chance. The leading Royalists shrank close into their privacies again,—considerable numbers of them had to shrink into durance in the Tower. Among which latter class, his Highness, justly incensed, and 'considering,' as Thurloe says, 'that it was not fit there should be a Plot of this kind every winter,' had determined that a High Court of Justice

[1] Hartlib's Letter, ubi supra.
[2] Godwin, iv. 508; Budgel's *Lives of the Boyles*, p. 49; etc.
[3] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 171).

should take cognisance of some. High Court of Justice is accordingly nominated [1] as the Act of Parliament prescribes: among the parties marked for trial by it are Sir Henry Slingsby, long since prisoner for Penruddock's business, and the Reverend Dr. Hewit, a man of much forwardness in Royalism. Sir Henry, prisoner in Hull and acquainted with the Chief Officers there, has been treating with them for betrayal of the place to his Majesty; has even, to that end, given one of them a Majesty's commission; for whose Spanish Invasion such a Haven and Fortress would have been extremely convenient. Reverend Dr. Hewit, preaching by sufferance, according to the old ritual, 'in St. Gregory's Church near Paul's,' to a select disaffected audience, has farther seen good to distinguish himself very much by secular zeal in this business of the Royalist Insurrection and Spanish Charles-Stuart Invasion;—which has now come to nothing, and left poor Dr. Hewit in a most questionable position. Of these two, and of others, a High Court of Justice shall take cognisance.

The Insurrection having no chance in the eyes of reasonable Royalists, and they in consequence refusing to lead it; the large body of *un*reasonable Royalists now in London City or gathering thither decide, with indignation, That they will try it on their own score, and lead it themselves. Hands to work, then, ye unreasonable Royalists; pipe, All hands! Saturday the 15th of May, that is the night appointed: To rise that Saturday night; beat drums for 'Royalist Apprentices,' 'fire houses at the Tower,' slay this man, slay that, and bring matters to a good issue. Alas, on the very edge of the appointed hour, as usual, we are all seized; the ringleaders of us are all seized 'at the Mermaid in Cheapside,'—for Thurloe and his Highness have long known what we were upon Barkstead, Governor of the Tower 'marches into the City with five drakes,' at the rattle of which every Royalist Apprentice,

[1] 27th April 1658. Act of Parliament, with List of the Names, is in Scobell, ii. 372-5: see also *Commons Journals*, vii. 427 (Sept. 1656).

and party implicated, shakes in his shoes:—and this also has gone to vapour, leaving only for result certain new individuals of the Civic class to give account of it to the High Court of Justice.

Tuesday 25th May 1658, the High Court of Justice sat; a formidable Sanhedrim of above a Hundred-and-thirty heads, consisting of 'all the Judges,' chief Law Officials, and others named in the Writ according to Act of Parliament;—sat 'in Westminster Hall, at Nine in the morning, for the Trial of Sir Henry Slingsby Knight, John Hewit Doctor of Divinity,' and three others whom we may forget.[1] Sat day after day till all were judged. Poor Sir Henry, on the first day, was condemned; he pleaded what he could, poor gentleman, a very constant Royalist all along; but the Hull business was too palpable; he was condemned to die. Reverend Dr. Hewit, whose proceedings also had become very palpable, refused to plead at all; refused even 'to take off his hat,' says Carrion Heath, 'till the officer was coming to do it for him': 'had a Paper of Demurrers prepared by the learned Mr. Prynne,' who is now again doing business this way;—'conducted himself not very wisely,' says Bulstrode. He likewise received sentence of death. The others, by narrow missing, escaped; by good luck, or the Protector's mercy, suffered nothing.

As to Slingsby and Hewit the Protector was inexorable. Hewit has already taken a very high line: let him persevere in it! Slingsby was the Lord Fauconberg's Uncle, married to his Aunt Bellasis; but that could not stead him,—perhaps that was but a new monition to be strict with him. The Commonwealth of England and its Peace are not nothing! These Royalist Plots every winter, deliveries of garrisons to Charles Stuart, and reckless 'usherings of us into blood,' shall end! Hewit and Slingsby suffered on Tower Hill, on Monday 8th June; amid the manifold rumour and emotion of men. Of the City Insurrectionists six were condemned; three of whom were executed, three pardoned. And so the High

[1] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 172).

Court of Justice dissolved itself; and at this and not at more expense of blood, the huge Insurrectionary movement ended, and lay silent within its caves again.

Whether in any future year it would have tried another rising against such a Lord Protector, one does not know,—one guesses rather in the negative. The Royalist Cause, after so many failures, after such a sort of enterprises 'on the word of a Christian King,' had naturally sunk very low. Some twelvemonth hence, with a Commonwealth not now under Cromwell, but only under the impulse of Cromwell, a Christian King hastening down to the Treaty of the Pyrenees, where France and Spain were making Peace, found one of the coldest receptions. Cardinal Mazarin 'sent his coaches and guards a day's journey to meet Lockhart the Commonwealth Ambassador'; but refused to meet the Christian King at all; would not even meet Ormond except as if by accident, 'on the public road,' to say that there was no hope. The Spanish Minister, Don Luis de Haro, was civiller in manner; but as to Spanish Charles-Stuart Invasions or the like, he also decisively shook his head.[1] The Royalist Cause was as good as desperate in England; a melancholy Reminiscence, fast fading away into the realm of shadows. Not till Puritanism sank of its own accord, could Royalism rise again. But Puritanism, the King of it once away, fell loose very naturally in every fibre,—fell into *Kinglessness*, what we call Anarchy; crumbled down, ever faster, for Sixteen Months, in mad suicide, and universal clashing and collision; proved, by trial after trial, that there lay not in it either Government or so much as Self-government any more; that a Government of England by *it* was henceforth an impossibility. Amid the general wreck of things, all Government threatening now to be impossible, the Reminiscence of Royalty rose again, 'Let us take refuge in the Past, the Future is not possible!'—and Major-General Monk crossed the Tweed at Coldstream, with results which are well known.

[1] Kennet, iii. 214; Clarendon, iii. 914.

Results which we will not quarrel with, very mournful as they have been! If it please Heaven, these Two-hundred Years of universal Cant in Speech, with so much of Cotton-spinning, Coal-boring, Commercing, and other valuable Sincerity of Work, going-on the while, shall not be quite lost to us! Our Cant will vanish, our whole baleful cunningly-compacted Universe of Cant, as does a heavy Nightmare Dream. We shall awaken; and find ourselves in a world greatly *widened*.—Why Puritanism could not continue? My friend, Puritanism was *not* the Complete Theory of this immense Universe; no, only a part thereof! To me it seems, in my hours of hope, as if the Destinies meant something grander with England than even Oliver Protector did! We will not quarrel with the Destinies; we will work as we can towards fulfilment of them.

But in these same June days of the year 1658, while Hewit and Slingsby lay down their heads on Tower Hill, and the English Hydra finds that its Master is still here, there arrive the news of Dunkirk alluded-to above: Dunkirk gloriously taken, Spaniards gloriously beaten: victories and successes abroad; which are a new illumination to the Lord Protector in the eyes of England. Splendid Nephews of the Cardinal, Manzinis, Ducs de Crequi, come across the Channel to congratulate 'the most invincible of Sovereigns'; young Louis Fourteenth himself would have come, had not the attack of small-pox prevented.[1] With whom the elegant Lord Fauconberg and others busy themselves: their pageantry and gilt coaches, much gazed-at by the idler multitudes, need not detain us here.

The Lord Protector, his Parliament having been dismissed with such brevity, is somewhat embarrassed in his finances. But otherwise his affairs stand well; visibly in an improved condition. Once more he has saved Puritan England; once more approved himself invincible abroad and at home. He looks with confidence towards summoning a new Parliament,

[1] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, pp. 172-3; 15th-21st June 1658).

of juster disposition towards Puritan England and him.[1] With a Parliament, or if extremity of need arrive, without a Parliament and in spite of Parliaments, the Puritan Gospel Cause, sanctioned by a Higher than Parliaments, shall not sink while life remains in this Man. Not till Oliver Cromwell's head lie low, shall English Puritanism bend its head to any created thing. Erect, with its foot on the neck of Hydra Babylon, with its open Bible and drawn Sword, shall Puritanism stand, and with pious all-defiance victoriously front the world. That was Oliver Cromwell's appointed function in this piece of Sublunary Space, in this section of swift-flowing Time; that noble, perilous, painful function: and he has manfully done it,—and is now near ending it, and getting honourably relieved from it.

LETTER CCXXV

The poor Protestants of Piedmont, it appears, are again in a state of grievance, in a state of peril. The Lord Protector, in the thickest press of domestic anarchies, finds time to think of these poor people and their case. Here is a Letter to Ambassador Lockhart, who is now at Dunkirk Siege, in the French King and Cardinal's neighbourhood: a generous pious Letter; dictated to Thurloe, partly perhaps of Thurloe's composition, but altogether of Oliver's mind and sense;—fit enough, since it so chances, to conclude our Series here.

Among the Lockhart Letters in *Thurloe*, which are full of Dunkirk in these weeks, I can find no trace of this new Piedmont business: but in Milton's Latin State-Letters, among the *Literæ Oliverii Protectoris*, there are Three, to the French King, to the Swiss Cantons, to the Cardinal, which all treat of it. The first of which, were it only as a sample of the Milton-Oliver Diplomacies, we will here copy, and translate that all may read it. An emphatic State-Letter; which Oliver Cromwell meant, and John Milton thought and wrote

[1] Thurloe, vii. 84, 99, 128, etc. (April, May 1658).

into words; not unworthy to be read. It goes by the same Express as the Letter to Lockhart himself; and is very specially referred to there:

'*SERENISSIMO POTENTISSIMOQUE PRINCIPI, LUDOVICO GALLIARUM REGI*

'*Serenissime potentissimeque Rex, Amice ac Fœderate Augustissime,—Meminisse potest Majestas Vestra, quo tempore inter nos de renovando Fœdere agebatur (quod optimis auspiciis initum multa utriusque Populi commoda, multa Hostium communium exinde mala testantur), accidisse miseram illam Convallensium Occisionem; quorum causam undique desertam atque afflictam Vestræ misericordiæ atque tutelæ, summo cum ardore animi ac miseratione, commendavimus. Nec defuisse per se arbitramur Majestatem Vestram officio tam pio, immo verò tam humano, pro eâ quâ apud Ducem Sabaudiæ valere debuit vel auctoritate vel gratiâ: Nos certè aliique multi Principes ac Civitates, legationibus, literis, precibus interpositis, non defuimus.*

'*Post cruentissimam utriusque sexûs omnis ætatis Trucidationem, Pax tandem data est; vel potiùs inductæ Pacis nomine hostilitas quædam tectior. Conditiones Pacis vestro in oppido Pinarolii sunt latæ: duræ quidem illæ, sed quibus miseri atque inopes, dira omnia atque immania perpessi, facile acquiescerent, modò iis, duræ et iniquæ ut sint, staretur. Non statur; sed enim earum quoque singularum falsâ interpretatione variisque diverticulis, fides eluditur ac violatur. Antiquis sedibus multi dejiciuntur, Religio Patria multis interdicitur; Tributa nova exiguntur, Ara nova cervicibus imponitur, unde milites crebrò erumpentes obvios quosque vel diripiunt vel trucidant. Ad hæc nuper novæ copiæ clanculum contra eos parantur; quique inter eos Romanam Religionem colunt, migrare ad tempus jubentur: ut omnia nunc rursùs videantur ad illorum internecionem miserorum spectare, quos illa prior laniena reliquos fecit.*

'*Quod ergò per dextram tuam, Rex Christianissime, quæ Fœdus nobiscum et amicitiam percussit, obsecro atque obtestor,*

per illud Christianissimi tituli decus sanctissimum, fieri ne siveris: nec tantam sæviendi licentiam, non dico Principi cuiquam (neque enim in ullum Principem, multò minus in ætatem illius Principis teneram, aut in muliebrem Matris animum, tanta sævitia cadere potest), sed sacerrimis illis Sicariis, ne permiseris. Qui cum Christi Servatoris nostri servos atque imitatores sese profiteantur, qui venit in hunc mundum ut peccatores servaret, Ejus mitissimi Nomine atque Institutis ad innocentium crudelissimas cædes abutuntur. Eripe qui potes, quique in tanto fastigio dignus es posse, tot supplices tuos homicidarum ex manibus, qui cruore nuper ebrii sanguinem rursùs sitiunt, suæque invidiam crudelitatis in Principes derivare consultissimum sibi ducunt. Tu verò nec Titulos tuos aut Regni fines istâ invidiâ, nec Evangelium Christi pacatissimum istâ crudelitate fœdari, te regnante patiaris, Memineris hos ipsos Avi tui Henrici Protestantibus amicissimi Dedititios fuisse; cùm Diguierius per ea Loca, quà etiam commodissimus in Italiam transitus est, Sabaudum trans Alpes cedentem victor est insecutus. Deditionis illius Instrumentum in Actis Regni vestri Publicis etiamnum extat: in quo exceptum atque cautum inter alia est, ne cui posteà Convallenses traderentur, nisi iisdem conditionibus quibus eos Avus tuus invictissimus in fidem recepit. Hanc fidem nunc implorant, avitam abs te Nepote supplices requirunt. Tui esse quàm cujus nunc sunt, vel permutatione aliquâ si fieri possit, malint atque optârint: id si non licet, patrocinio saltem, miseratione atque perfugio.

'*Sunt et rationes regni quæ hortari possint ut Convallenses ad te confugientes ne rejicias: sed nolim te, Rex tantus cum sis, aliis rationibus ad defensionem calamitosorum quàm fide à Majoribus datâ, pietate, regiáque animi benignitate ac magnitudine permoveri. Ita pulcherrimi facti laus atque gloria illibata atque integra tua erit, et ipse Patrem Misericordiæ ejusque Filium Christum Regem, cujus Nomen atque Doctrinam ab immanitate nefariâ vindicaveris, eò magis faventem tibi et propitium per omnem vitam experieris.*

'*Deus Opt. Max. ad gloriam suam, tot innocentissimorum*

hominum Christianorum tutandam salutem, Vestrumque verum decus, Majestati Vestræ hanc mentem injiciat. "*Majestatis Vestræ Studiosissimus*

"*OLIVERIUS PROTECTOR REIP. ANGLIÆ,*" *ETC.*

'*Westmonasterio, Maii* "26° *die,*" *anno* 1658.'[1]

Of which here is a Version the most literal we can make:

'TO THE MOST SERENE AND POTENT PRINCE, LOUIS, KING OF FRANCE'

'MOST SERENE AND POTENT KING, MOST CLOSE FRIEND AND ALLY,—Your Majesty may recollect that during the negotiation between us for the renewing of our League[2] (which many advantages to both Nations, and much damage to their common Enemies, resulting therefrom, now testify to have been very wisely done),—there fell out that miserable Slaughter of the People of the Valleys; whose cause, on all sides deserted and trodden down, we, with the utmost earnestness and pity, recommended to your mercy and protection. Nor do we think your Majesty, for your own part, has been wanting in an office so pious and indeed so human, in so far as either by authority or favour you might have influence with the Duke of Savoy: we certainly, and many other Princes and States, by embassies, by letters, by entreaties directed thither, have not been wanting.

'After that most sanguinary Massacre, which spared no age nor either sex, there was at last a Peace given; or rather, under the specious name of Peace, a certain more disguised hostility. The terms of the Peace were settled in your Town of Pignerol: hard terms; but such as those poor People, indigent and wretched, after suffering all manner of cruelties and atrocities, might gladly acquiesce in; if only, hard and unjust as the bargain is, it were adhered to. It is not

[1] *The Prose Works of John Milton* (London, 1833). p. 815.

[2] June 1655: antea, vol. iii. p. 205.

adhered to: those terms are broken; the purport of every one of them is, by false interpretation and various subterfuges, eluded and violated. Many of these People *are* ejected from their old Habitations; their Native Religion is prohibited to many: new Taxes are exacted; a new Fortress has been built over them, out of which soldiers frequently sallying plunder or kill whomsoever they meet. Moreover, new Forces have of late been privily got ready against them; and such as follow the Romish Religion are directed to withdraw from among them within a limited time: so that everything seems now again to point towards the extermination of all among those unhappy People, whom the former Massacre had left.

'Which now, O Most Christian King, I beseech and obtest thee, by thy right-hand which pledged a League and Friendship with us, by the sacred honour of that Title of Most Christian,—permit not to be done: nor let such license of savagery, I do not say to any Prince (for indeed no cruelty like this could come into the mind of any Prince, much less into the tender years of that young Prince, or into the woman's heart of his Mother), but to those most accursed Assassins, be given. Who while they profess themselves the servants and imitators of Christ our Saviour, who came into this world that He might save sinners, abuse His most merciful Name and Commandments to the cruelest slaughterings. Snatch, thou who art able, and who in such an elevation art worthy to be able, those poor Suppliants of thine from the hands of Murderers, who, lately drunk with blood, are again athirst for it, and think convenient to turn the discredit of their own cruelty upon their Prince's score. Suffer not either thy Titles and the Environs of thy Kingdom to be soiled with that discredit, or the peaceable Gospel of Christ by that cruelty, in thy Reign. Remember that these very People became subjects of thy Ancestor, Henry, most friendly to Protestants; when Lesdiguières victoriously pursued him of Savoy across the Alps, through those same Valleys,[1] where indeed the most

[1] In 1592; Hénault, *Abrégé Chronologique* (Paris, 1774), ii. 597.

commodious pass to Italy is. The Instrument of that their Paction and Surrender is yet extant in the Public Acts of your Kingdom: in which this among other things is specified and provided against, That these People of the Valleys should not thereafter be delivered over to any one except on the same conditions under which thy invincible Ancestor had received them into fealty. This promised protection they now implore; promise of thy Ancestor they now, from thee the Grandson, suppliantly demand. To be thine rather than his whose they now are, if by any means of exchange it could be done, they would wish and prefer: if that may not be, thine at least by succour, by commiseration and deliverance.

'There are likewise reasons of state which might give inducement not to reject these People of the Valleys flying for shelter to thee: but I would not have thee, so great a King as thou art, be moved to the defence of the unfortunate by other reasons than the promise of thy Ancestors, and thy own piety and royal benignity and greatness of mind. So shall the praise and fame of this most worthy action be unmixed and clear; and thyself shalt find the Father of Mercy, and His Son Christ the King, whose Name and Doctrine thou shalt have vindicated, the more favourable to thee, and propitious through the course of life.

'May the Almighty, for His own glory, for the safety of so many most innocent Christian men, and for your true honour, dispose Your Majesty to this determination. Your Majesty's most friendly

'OLIVER PROTECTOR OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND.

'Westminster, 26th May 1658.'

"TO SIR WILLIAM LOCKHART, OUR AMBASSADOR AT THE FRENCH COURT: THESE"

"Whitehall," 26th May 1658.

Sir,—The continual troubles and vexations of the poor People of Piedmont professing the Reformed Religion,—and

that after so many serious instances of yours in the Court of France in their behalf, and after such hearty recommendations of their most deplorable condition to his Majesty in our name, who also has been pleased upon all such occasions to profess very deep resentments of their miseries, and to give us no small hopes of interposing his power and interest with the Duke of Savoy for the accommodating of those affairs, and for the restoring those poor distressed creatures to their ancient privileges and habitations,—are matter of so much grief to us, and lie so near our heart, that, notwithstanding we are abundantly satisfied with those many signal marks you have always hitherto given of your truly Christian zeal and tenderness on their regard, yet the present conjuncture of their affairs, and the misery that is daily added to their affliction begetting in us fresh arguments of pity towards them, not only as men, but as the poor distressed Members of Christ,—do really move us at present to recommend their sad condition to your special care. Desiring you to redouble your instances with the King, in such pathetic and affectionate expressions as may be in some measure suitable to the greatness of their present sufferings and grievances. Which, the truth is, are almost inexpressible. For so restless and implacable is the malice and fury of their Popish Adversaries, that,—as though they esteemed it but a light matter to have formerly shed the innocent blood of so many hundreds of souls, to have burned their houses, to have rased their churches, to have plundered their goods, and to have driven out the Inhabitants beyond the River Pelice, out of those their ancient Possessions which they had quietly enjoyed for so many ages and generations together,—they are now resolved to fill their cup of affliction up to the brim, and to heat the furnace yet seven times hotter than before. Amongst other things:

First,—*They forcibly prohibit all manner of Public Exercises*[1] *at San Giovanni, which, notwithstanding, the Inhabitants have enjoyed time out of mind. and in case they yield not ready obedience to such most unrighteous orders, they are immediately*

[1] Means 'Public Worship.'

summoned before their Courts of Justice, and there proceeded against in a most severe and rigorous manner, and some threatened to be wholly destroyed and exterminated.

2. *And forasmuch as, in the said Valleys, there are not found among the Natives men fitly qualified and of abilities for Ministerial Functions to supply so much as one half of their Churches, and upon this account they are necessitated to entertain some out of France and Geneva, which are the Duke of Savoy's friends and allies,—their Popish Enemies take hold of this advantage; and make use of this stratagem, namely, to banish and drive out the shepherds of the flocks, that so the wolves may the better come in and devour the sheep.*

3. *To this we add, their strict prohibition of all Physicians and Chirurgeons of the Reformed Religion to inhabit in the Valleys. And thus they attempt not only to starve their souls for want of spiritual food and nourishment, but to destroy their bodies likewise for want of those outward conveniences and helps which God hath allowed to all mankind.*

4. *And as a supplement to the former grievances, those of the Reformed Religion are prohibited all manner of Commerce and Trade with their Popish neighbours; that so they may not be able to subsist and maintain their families: and if they offend herein in the least, they are immediately apprehended as rebels.*

5. *Moreover, to give the world a clear testimony what their main design in all these oppressions is, they have issued out Orders whereby to force the poor Protestants To sell their Lands and Houses to their Popish neighbours: whereas the Papists are prohibited upon pain of excommunication to sell any immovable to the Protestants.*

6. *Besides, the Court of Savoy have rebuilt the Fort of La Torre; contrary to the formal and express promise made by them to the Ambassadors of the Evangelical Cantons. Where they have also placed Commanders, who commit the Lord knows how many excesses and outrages in all the neighbouring parts; without being ever called to question, or compelled to make*

restitution for the same. If by chance any murder be committed in the Valleys (as is too-too often practised) whereof the authors are not discovered, the poor Protestants are immediately accused as guilty thereof, to render them odious to their neighbours.

7. There are sent lately into the said Valleys several Troops of Horse and Companies of Foot; which hath caused the poor People, out of fear of a massacre, with great expense and difficulty to send their wives and little ones, with all that were feeble and sick amongst them, into the Valley of Perosa, under the King of France his Dominions.

These are, in short, the grievances, and this is the present state and condition of those poor People even at this very day. Whereof you are to use your utmost endeavours to make his Majesty thoroughly sensible; and to persuade him to give speedy and effectual orders "to" his Ambassador who resides in the Duke's Court, To act vigorously in their behalf. Our Letter,[1] *which you shall present his Majesty for this end and purpose, contains several reasons in it which we hope will move his heart to the performance of this charitable and merciful work. And we desire you to second and animate the same with your most earnest solicitations; representing unto him how much his own interest and honour is concerned in the making good that Accord of Henry the Fourth, his royal predecessor, with the Ambassadors of those very People, in the year* 1592, *by the Constable of Lesdiguières; which Accord is registered in the Parliament of Dauphiné; and whereof you have an authentic Copy in your own hands. Whereby the Kings of France oblige themselves and their Successors To maintain and preserve their ancient privileges and concessions.—Besides that the gaining to himself the hearts of that People, by so gracious and remarkable a protection and deliverance, might be of no little use another day, in relation to Pignerol and the other adjacent places under his Dominions.*

One of the most effectual remedies, which we conceive the fittest to be applied at present is, That the King of France would be

[1] Milton's, given above.

pleased to make an Exchange with the Duke of Savoy for those Valleys; resigning over to him some other part of his Dominions in lieu thereof,—as, in the reign of Henry the Fourth, the Marquisate of Saluces was exchanged with the Duke for La Bresse.[1] *Which certainly could not but be of great advantage to his Majesty, as well for the safety of Pignerol, as for the opening of a Passage for his Forces into Italy,—which "Passage," if under the dominion, and in the hands of so powerful a Prince, joined with the natural strength of these places by reason of their situation, must needs be rendered impregnable.*

By what we have already said, you see our intentions; and therefore we leave all other particulars to your special care and conduct; and rest, "your friend,"

OLIVER P. *

Lockhart, both General and Ambassador in these months, is, as we hinted, infinitely busy with his share in the Siege of Dunkirk, now just in its agony; and before this Letter can well arrive, has done his famous feat of Fighting, which brings Turenne and him their victory, among the sandhills there.[2] Much to the joy of Cardinal and King; who will not readily refuse him in any reasonable point at present. There came no new Massacre upon the poor People of the Valleys; their grievances were again 'settled,' scared away for a season, by negotiation.

DEATH OF THE PROTECTOR

THERE remain no more *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* for us; the above is the last of them of either kind. As a Speaker to men, he takes his leave of the world, in these final words addressed to his Second Parliament, on the 4th of

[1] In 1601 (Hénault, ii. 612).

[2] Thursday, 3d June 1658 (Thurloe, vii. 155-6).

* Ayscough MSS., no. 4107, f. 89.

February 1657-8: 'God be judge between you and me!'—So was it appointed by the Destinies and the Oblivions; these were his last public words.

Other Speeches, in that crisis of Oliver's affairs, we have already heard of; 'Speech of two hours' to his Officers in Whitehall; Speech to the Lord Mayor and Common Council, in the same place, on the same subject: but they have not been reported, or the report of them has not come down to us. There were domestic Letters also, as we still find, written in those same tumultuous weeks; Letters to the Earl of Warwick, on occasion of the death of his Grandson, the Protector's Son-in-law. For poor young Mr. Rich, whom we saw wedded in November last, is dead.[1] He died on the twelfth day after that Dissolution of the Parliament; while Oliver and the Commonwealth are wrestling against boundless Anarchies, Oliver's own Household has its visitations and dark days. Poor little Frances Cromwell, in the fourth month of her marriage, still only about seventeen, she finds herself suddenly a widow; and Hampton Court has become a house of mourning. Young Rich was much lamented. Oliver condoled with the Grandfather 'in seasonable and sympathising Letters'; for which the brave old Earl rallies himself to make some gratefulest Reply;[2]—'Cannot enough confess my obligation, much less discharge it, for your seasonable and sympathising Letters; which, besides the value they derive from so worthy a hand, express such faithful affections, and administer such Christian advices as renders them beyond measure dear to me.' Blessings, and noble eulogies, the outpouring of a brave old heart, conclude this Letter of Warwick's. He himself died shortly after;[3] a new grief to the Protector.—The Protector was delivering the Commonwealth from Hydras and fighting a world-wide battle, while

[1] 16th Feb. 1657-8 (Newspapers in *Cromwelliana*, p. 170).

[2] Earl of Warwick to the Lord Protector, date 11th March 1657-8; printed in *Godwin*, iv. 528.

[3] 19th April 1658 (Thurloe, vii. 85).

he wrote those Letters on the death of young Rich. If by chance they still lie hidden in the archives of some kinsman of the Warwicks, they may yet be disimprisoned and made audible. Most probably they too are lost. And so we have now nothing more;—and Oliver has nothing more. His Speakings, and also his Actings, all his manifold strugglings, more or less victorious, to utter the great God's-Message that was in him,—have here what we call ended. This Summer of 1658, likewise victorious after struggle, is his last in our World of Time. Thenceforth he enters the Eternities; and rests upon his arms *there*.

Oliver's look was yet strong; and young for his years,[1] which were Fifty-nine last April. The 'Three-score and ten years,' the Psalmist's limit, which probably was often in Oliver's thoughts and in those of others there, might have been anticipated for him: Ten Years more of Life;—which, we may compute, would have given another History to all the Centuries of England. But it was not to be so, it was to be otherwise. Oliver's health, as we might observe, was but uncertain in late times; often 'indisposed' the spring before last. His course of life had not been favourable to health! 'A burden too heavy for man!' as he himself, with a sigh, would sometimes say. Incessant toil; inconceivable labour, of head and heart and hand; toil, peril, and sorrow manifold, continued for near Twenty years now, had done their part: those robust life-energies, it afterwards appeared,[2] had been gradually eaten out. Like a Tower strong to the eye, but with its foundations undermined; which has not long to stand; the fall of which, on any shock, may be sudden.—

The Manzinis and Ducs de Crequi, with their splendours, and congratulations about Dunkirk, interesting to the street-populations and general public, had not yet withdrawn, when at Hampton Court there had begun a private scene, of much

[1] Heath.

[2] Doctor Bates, on examination *post mortem*.

deeper and quite opposite interest there. The Lady Claypole, Oliver's favourite daughter, a favourite of all the world, had fallen sick we know not when; lay sick now,—to death, as it proved. Her disease was of internal female nature; the painfulest and most harassing to mind and sense, it is understood, that falls to the lot of a human creature. Hampton Court we can fancy once more, in those July days, a house of sorrow; pale Death knocking there, as at the door of the meanest hut. 'She had great sufferings, great exercises of spirit.' Yes.—and in the depths of the old Centuries, we see a pale anxious Mother, anxious Husband, anxious weeping Sisters, a poor young Frances weeping anew in her weeds. 'For the last fourteen days' his Highness has been by her bedside at Hampton Court, unable to attend to any public business whatever.[1] Be still, my Child; trust thou yet in God: in the waves of the Dark River, there too is He a God of help!—On the 6th day of August she lay dead; at rest forever. My young, my beautiful, my brave! She is taken from me; I am left bereaved of her. The Lord giveth, and the Lord taketh away; blessed be the Name of the Lord!—

'His Highness,' says Harvey,[2] 'being at Hampton Court, sickened a little before the Lady Elizabeth died. Her decease was on Friday 6th August 1658; she having lain long under great extremity of bodily pain, which, with frequent and violent convulsion-fits, brought her to her end. But as to his Highness, it was observed that his sense of her outward misery, in the pains she endured, took deep impression upon him; who indeed was ever a most indulgent and tender Father;—his affections' too 'being regulated and bounded by such Christian wisdom and prudence, as did eminently shine in filling-up not only that relation of a Father, but also all other

[1] Thurloe, vii. 295 (27th July 1658).

[2] A Collection of several Passages concerning his late Highness Oliver Cromwell, in the Time of his Sickness; wherein is related many of his Expressions upon his Deathbed, together with his Prayer within two or three Days before his Death. Written by one that was then Groom of his Bedchamber. (King's Pamphlets, sm. 4to, no. 792, art. 22: London, 9th June 1659.)

relations; wherein he was a most rare and singular example. And no doubt but the sympathy of his spirit with his sorely afflicted and dying Daughter' did break him down at this time; 'considering also,'—innumerable other considerations of sufferings and toils, 'which make me often wonder he was able to hold-up so long; except' indeed 'that he was borne up by a Supernatural Power at a more than ordinary rate. As a mercy to the truly Christian World, and to us of these Nations, had we been worthy of him!'—

The same authority, who unhappily is not chronological, adds elsewhere this little picture, which we must take with us: 'At Hampton Court, a few days after the death of the Lady Elizabeth, which touched him nearly,—being then himself under bodily distempers, forerunners of that Sickness which was to death, and in his bedchamber,—he called for his Bible, and desired an honourable and godly person there, with others, present, To read unto him that passage in *Philippians* Fourth: "*Not that I speak in respect of want; for I have learned in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content. I know both how to be abased, and I know how to abound. Everywhere, and in all things, I am instructed both to be full and to be hungry, both to abound and to suffer need. I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me.*"[1] Which read,—said he, to use his own words as near as I can remember them: "This Scripture did once save my life; when my eldest Son"' poor Robert[2] '"died; which went as a dagger to my heart, indeed it did." And then repeating the words of the text himself, and reading the tenth and eleventh verses, of Paul's contentation, and submission to the will of God in all conditions,—said he: "It's true, Paul, *you* have learned this, and attained to this measure of grace: but what shall *I* do? Ah poor creature, it is a hard lesson for me to take out! I find it so!" But reading on to the thirteenth verse, where Paul saith, "*I*

[1] Philippians iv. 11, 12, 13.

[2] A blank in the Pamphlet here: not 'Oliver' as hitherto supposed (see vol. i. p. 188) but 'Robert' (*ibid.* p. 48): see vol. i. pp. 127, 188.

can do all things through Christ that strengtheneth me,"—then faith began to work, and his heart to find support and comfort, and he said thus to himself, "He that was Paul's Christ is my Christ too!" And so drew waters out of the well of Salvation.'

In the same dark days, occurred George Fox's third and last interview with Oliver. Their first interview we have seen. The second, which had fallen out some two years ago, did not prosper quite so well. George, riding into Town 'one evening,' with some 'Edward Pyot' or other broadbrimmed man, espied the Protector 'at Hyde Park Corner among his Guards,' and made up to his carriage-window, in spite of opposition; and was altogether cordially welcomed there. But on the following day, at Whitehall, the Protector 'spake lightly'; he sat down loosely 'on a table,' and 'spake light things to me,'—in fact, rather quizzed me; finding my enormous sacred Self-confidence none of the least of my attainments![1] Such had been our second interview; here now is the third and last. —George dates nothing; and his facts everywhere lie round him like the leather-parings of his old shop: but we judge it may have been about the time when the Manzinis and Ducs de Crequi were parading in their gilt coaches, That George and two Friends 'going out of Town,' on a summer day, 'two of Hacker's men' had met them,—taken them, brought them to the Mews. 'Prisoners there a while':—but the Lord's power was over Hacker's men; they had to let us go. Whereupon:

'The same day, taking boat I went down' (*up*) 'to Kingston, and from thence to Hampton Court, to speak with the Protector about the Sufferings of Friends. I met him riding into Hampton-Court Park; and before I came to him, as he rode at the head of his Lifeguard, I saw and felt a waft' (*whiff*) 'of death go forth against him.'— — Or in favour of him, George? His life, if thou knew it, has not been a merry thing for this man, now or heretofore! I fancy he has been looking, this long while, to give it up,

[1] *Fox's Journal*, i. 381-2.

whenever the Commander-in-Chief required. To quit his laborious sentry-post; honourably lay-up his arms, and be gone to his rest:—all Eternity to rest in, O George! Was thy own life merry for example, in the hollow of the tree; clad permanently in leather? And does kingly purple, and governing refractory worlds instead of stitching coarse shoes, make it merrier? The waft of death is not against *him*, I think,—perhaps against thee, and me, and others, O George, when the Nell-Gwynn Defender and Two Centuries of all-victorious Cant have come in upon us! My unfortunate George— —'a waft of death go forth against him; and when I came to him, he looked like a dead man. After I had laid the Sufferings of Friends before him, and had warned him according as I was moved to speak to him, he bade me come to his house. So I returned to Kingston; and, the next day, went up to Hampton Court to speak farther with him. But when I came, Harvey, who was one that waited on him, told me the Doctors were not willing that I should speak with him. So I passed away, and never saw him more.'[1]

Friday the 20th of August 1658, this was probably the day on which George Fox saw Oliver riding into Hampton Park with his Guards, for the last time. That Friday, as we find, his Highness seemed much better: but on the morrow a sad change had taken place; feverish symptoms, for which the Doctors rigorously prescribed quiet. Saturday to Tuesday the symptoms continued ever worsening: a kind of tertian ague, 'bastard tertian' as the old Doctors name it; for which it was ordered that his Highness should return to Whitehall, as to a more favourable air in that complaint. On Tuesday accordingly he quitted Hampton Court;—never to see it more.

'His time was come,' says Harvey; 'and neither prayers nor tears could prevail with God to lengthen out his life and continue him longer to us. Prayers abundantly and incessantly poured out on his behalf, both publicly and privately, as was observed, in a more than ordinary way. Besides many

[1] *Fox's Journal*, pp. 485-6.

a secret sigh,—secret and unheard by men, yet like the cry of Moses, more loud, and strongly laying hold on God, than many spoken supplications. All which,—the hearts of God's People being thus mightily stirred up,—did seem to beget confidence in some, and hopes in all; yea some thoughts in himself, that God would restore him.'

'Prayers public and private': they are worth imagining to ourselves. Meetings of Preachers, Chaplains, and Godly Persons; 'Owen, Goodwin, Sterry, with a company of others, in an adjoining room'; in Whitehall, and elsewhere over religious London and England, fervent outpourings of many a loyal heart. For there were hearts to whom the nobleness of this man was known; and his worth to the Puritan Cause was evident. Prayers,—strange enough to us; in a dialect fallen obsolete, forgotten now. Authentic wrestlings of ancient Human Souls,—who were alive then, with their affections, awestruck pieties; with their Human Wishes, risen to be *transcendent*, hoping to prevail with the Inexorable. All swallowed now in the depths of dark Time; which is full of such, since the beginning!—Truly it is a great scene of World-History, this in old Whitehall: Oliver Cromwell drawing nigh to his end. The exit of Oliver Cromwell and of English Puritanism; a great Light, one of our few authentic Solar Luminaries, going down now amid the clouds of Death. Like the setting of a great victorious Summer Sun; its course now finished. '*So stirbt ein Held*,' says Schiller, 'So dies a Hero! Sight worthy to be worshipped!'—He died, this Hero Oliver, in Resignation to God; as the Brave have all done. 'We could not be more desirous he should abide,' says the pious Harvey, 'than he was content and willing to be gone.' The struggle lasted, amid hope and fear, for ten days.—Some small miscellaneous traits, and confused gleanings of last-words; and then our poor History ends.

Oliver, we find, spoke much of 'the Covenants'; which indeed are the grand axis of all, in that Puritan Universe of

his. Two Covenants; one of Works, with fearful Judgment for our shortcomings therein; one of Grace and unspeakable mercy;—gracious Engagements, 'Covenants,' which the Eternal God has vouchsafed to make with His feeble creature Man. Two; and by Christ's Death they have become One: there for Oliver is the divine solution of this our Mystery of Life.[1] 'They were Two,' he was heard ejaculating: 'Two, but put into One before the Foundation of the World!' And again: 'It is holy and true, it is holy and true, it is holy and true! —Who made it holy and true? The Mediator of the Covenant!' And again: 'The Covenant is but One. Faith in the Covenant is my only support. And if I believe not, He abides faithful!' When his Children and Wife stood weeping round him, he said: 'Love not this world. I say unto you, it is not good that you should love this world!' No. 'Children, live like Christians:—I leave you the Covenant to feed upon!' Yea, my brave one; even so! The Covenant, and eternal Soul of Covenants, remains sure to all the faithful: deeper than the Foundations of this World; earlier than they, and more lasting than they!—

Look also at the following; dark hues and bright; immortal light-beams struggling amid the black vapours of Death. Look; and conceive a great sacred scene, the sacredest this world sees;—and think of it, do not speak of it, in these mean days which have no sacred word. 'Is there none that says, Who will deliver me from the peril?' moaned he once. Many hearts are praying, O wearied one! 'Man can do nothing,' rejoins he; 'God can do what He will.'— Another time, again thinking of the Covenant, 'Is there none that will come and praise God,' whose mercies endure for ever!— —

Here also are ejaculations caught up at intervals, undated, in those final days: 'Lord, Thou knowest, if I do desire to live, it is to show forth Thy praise and declare Thy works!'

[1] Much intricate intense reasoning to this effect, on this subject, in Owen's Works, among others.

—Once he was heard saying, 'It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the Living God!'[1] 'This was spoken three times,' says Harvey; 'his repetitions usually being very weighty, and with great vehemency of spirit.' Thrice over he said this; looking into the Eternal Kingdoms: 'A fearful thing to fall into the hands of the Living God!'——But again: 'All the promises of God are in *Him*: yes, and in Him Amen; to the glory of God by us,—by *us* in Jesus Christ.'——'The Lord hath filled me with as much assurance of His pardon, and His love, as my soul can hold.' —'I think I am the poorest wretch that lives: but I love God; or rather, am beloved of God.'—'I am a conqueror, and more than a conqueror, through Christ that strengtheneth me!'[2]

So pass, in the sickroom, in the sickbed, these last heavy uncertain days. 'The Godly Persons had great assurances of a return to their Prayers': transcendent Human Wishes find in their own echo a kind of answer! They gave his Highness also some assurance that his life would be lengthened. Hope was strong in many to the very end.

On Monday August 30th, there roared and howled all day a mighty storm of wind. Ludlow, coming up to town from Essex, could not start in the morning for wind; tried it in the afternoon; still could not get along, in his coach, for head-wind; had to stop at Epping.[3] On the morrow, Fleetwood came to him in the Protector's name, to ask, What he wanted here?—Nothing of public concernment, only to see my Mother-in-law! answered the solid man. For indeed he did not know that Oliver was dying; that the glorious hour of Disenthralment, and immortal 'Liberty' to plunge over precipices with one's self and one's Cause was so nigh!—It came; and he took the precipices, like a strongboned resolute blind gin-horse rejoicing in the breakage of its halter, in a very gallant constitutional manner. Adieu, my solid friend; if I

[1] Hebrews x. 31.

[2] From Harvey; scattered over his Pamphlet.

[3] Ludlow, ii. 610-12.

go to Vevay, I will read thy Monument there, perhaps not without emotion, after all !— —

It was on this stormy Monday, while rocking winds, heard in the sickroom and everywhere, were piping aloud, that Thurloe and an Official person entered to inquire, Who, in case of the worst, was to be his Highness's Successor? The Successor is named in a sealed Paper already drawn-up, above a year ago, at Hampton Court; now lying in such and such a place. The Paper was sent for, searched for; it could never be found. Richard's is the name understood to have been written in that Paper: not a good name; but in fact one does not know. In ten years' time, had ten years more been granted, Richard might have become a fitter man; might have been cancelled, if palpably unfit. Or perhaps it was Fleetwood's name,—and the Paper, by certain parties, was stolen? None knows. On the Thursday night following, 'and not till then,' his Highness is understood to have formally named 'Richard';—or perhaps it might only be some heavy-laden 'Yes, yes!' spoken, out of the thick death-slumbers, in answer to Thurloe's *question* 'Richard?' The thing is a little uncertain.[1] It was, once more, a matter of much moment;—giving colour probably to all the subsequent Centuries of England, this answer !—

On or near the night of the same stormy Monday, 'two or three days before he died,' we are to place that Prayer his Highness was heard uttering; which, as taken down by his attendants, exists in many old Notebooks. In the tumult of the winds, the dying Oliver was heard uttering this

PRAYER

Lord, though I am a miserable and wretched creature, I am in Covenant with Thee through grace. And I may, I will, come to Thee, for Thy People. Thou hast made me, though very unworthy, a mean instrument to do them some good, and

[1] Authorities in Godwin, iv. 572-3. But see also *Thurloe*, vii. 375; Faucon-berg's second Letter there.

Thee service; and many of them have set too high a value upon me, though others wish and would be glad of my death; Lord, however Thou do dispose of me, continue and go on to do good for them. Give them consistency of judgment, one heart, and mutual love; and go on to deliver them, and with the work of reformation; and make the Name of Christ glorious in the world. Teach those who look too much on Thy instruments, to depend more upon Thyself. Pardon such as desire to trample upon the dust of a poor worm, for they are Thy People too. And pardon the folly of this short Prayer:—Even for Jesus Christ's sake. And give us a good night, if it be Thy pleasure. Amen.

'Some variation there is,' says Harvey, 'of this Prayer, as to the account divers give of it; and something is here omitted. But so much is certain, that these were his requests. Wherein his heart was so carried out for God and His People,—yea, indeed for some who had added no little sorrow to him,' the Anabaptist Republicans, and others,—'that at this time he seems to forget his own Family and nearest relations.' Which indeed is to be remarked.

Thursday night the Writer of our old Pamphlet was himself in attendance on his Highness; and has preserved a trait or two; with which let us hasten to conclude. Tomorrow is September Third, always kept as a Thanksgiving day, since the Victories of Dunbar and Worcester. The wearied one, 'that very night before the Lord took him to his everlasting rest,' was heard thus, with oppressed voice, speaking:

'"Truly God is good; indeed He is; He will not"——Then his speech failed him, but as I apprehended, it was, "He will not leave me." This saying, "God is good," he frequently used all along; and would speak it with much cheerfulness, and fervour of spirit, in the midst of his pains.—Again he said: "I would be willing to live to be farther serviceable to God and His People: but my work is done. Yet God will be with His People."

'He was very restless most part of the night, speaking often to himself. And there being something to drink offered him, he was desired To take the same, and endeavour to sleep.—Unto which he answered: "It is not my design to drink or sleep; but my design is, to make what haste I can to be gone."—

'Afterwards, towards morning, he used divers holy expressions, implying much inward consolation and peace; among the rest he spake some exceeding self-debasing words, *annihilating* and judging himself. And truly it was observed, that a public spirit to God's Cause did breathe in him,—as in his lifetime, so now to his very last.'

When the morrow's sun rose, Oliver was speechless; between three and four in the afternoon, he lay dead. Friday 3d September 1658. 'The consternation and astonishment of all people,' writes Fauconberg,[1] 'are inexpressible; their hearts seem as if sunk within them. My poor Wife,—I know not what on earth to do with her. When seemingly quieted, she bursts out again into a passion that tears her very heart in pieces."—Husht, poor weeping Mary! Here is a Life-battle right nobly done. Seest thou not,

'The storm is changed into a calm,
At His command and will;
So that the waves which raged before
Now quiet are and still!

Then are *they* glad,—because at rest
And quiet now they be:
So to the haven He them brings
Which they desired to see.'

'Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord'; blessed are the valiant that have lived in the Lord. 'Amen, saith the Spirit,'—Amen. 'They do rest from their labours, and their works follow them.'

[1] To Henry Cromwell, 7th September 1658 (*Thurloe*, vii. 375).

'Their works follow them.' As, I think, this Oliver Cromwell's works have done and are still doing! We have had our 'Revolutions of Eighty-eight,' officially called 'glorious'; and other Revolutions not yet called glorious; and somewhat has been gained for poor Mankind. Men's ears are not now slit-off by rash Officiality; Officiality will, for long henceforth, be more cautious about men's ears. The tyrannous Star-chambers, branding-irons, chimerical Kings and Surplices at All-hallowtide, they are gone, or with immense velocity going. Oliver's works do follow him!—The works of a man, bury them under what guano-mountains and obscene owl-droppings you will, do not perish, cannot perish. What of Heroism, what of Eternal Light was in a Man and his Life, is with very great exactness added to the Eternities; remains forever a new divine portion of the Sum of Things; and no owl's voice, this way or that, in the least avails in the matter.—But we have to end here.

Oliver is gone; and with him England's Puritanism, laboriously built together by this man, and made a thing far-shining, miraculous to its own Century, and memorable to all the Centuries, soon goes. Puritanism, without its King, is *kingless*, anarchic; falls into dislocation, self-collision, staggers, plunges into ever deeper anarchy; King, Defender of the Puritan Faith there can now none be found;—and nothing is left but to recall the old disowned Defender with the remnants of his Four Surplices, and Two Centuries of *Hypocrisis* (or Play-acting *not* so-called), and put-up with all that, the best we may. The Genius of England no longer soars Sunward, world-defiant, like an Eagle through the storms, 'mewing her mighty youth,' as John Milton saw her do: the Genius of England, much liker a greedy Ostrich intent on provender and a whole skin mainly, stands with its *other* extremity Sunward; with its Ostrich-head stuck into the readiest bush, of old Church-tippets, King-cloaks, or what other 'sheltering Fallacy' there may be, and *so* awaits the issue. The issue has been slow; but it is now seen to have been inevitable.

No Ostrich, intent on gross terrene provender, and sticking its head into Fallacies, but will be awakened one day,—in a terrible *à-posteriori* manner, if not otherwise !— —Awake before it come to that; gods and men bid us awake ! The Voices of our Fathers, with thousandfold stern monition to one and all, bid us awake.

APPENDIX

No. 1

Letter to Downhall

[Vol. i. p. 55.]

The stolen Letter of the Ashmole Museum has been found printed, and even reprinted. It is of the last degree of insignificance: a mere Note of Invitation to Downhall to stand 'Godfather unto my Child.' Manchild now ten days old,[1] who, as we may see, is christened 'on Thursday next' by the name of Richard,—and had strange ups and downs as a Man when it came to that!

To my approved good Friend Mr. Henry Downhall, at his Chambers in St. John's College, Cambridge: These

Huntingdon, 14th October 1626.

Loving Sir,—Make me so much your servant as to be[2] Godfather unto my Child. I would myself have come over to have made a formal invitation; but my occasions would not permit me: and therefore hold me in that excused. The day of your trouble is Thursday next. Let me entreat your company on Wednesday.

By this time it appears, I am more apt to encroach upon you for new favours than to show my thankfulness for the love I have already found. But I know your patience and your goodness cannot be exhausted by your friend and servant,

Oliver Cromwell.*

Of this Downhall, sometimes written Down*hault*, and even Down*ett* and Down*tell*; who grounds his claim, such as it is, to human remembrance on the above small Note from Oliver,—a helpful hand has, with

[1] Vol. i. p. 70.

[2] 'by being' in orig.

* Hearne's *Liber Niger Scaccarii* (London, 1771), i. 261 n.

unsubduable research, discovered various particulars, which might amount almost to an outline of a history of Downhall were such needed. He was of Northamptonshire, come of gentlefolks in that County. Admitted Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, 12th April 1614;—had known Oliver, and apparently been helpful and instructive to him, two years after that. More interesting still, he, this same Downhall, was Vicar of St. Ives when Oliver came thither in 1635; still Vicar when Oliver left it, though with far other tendencies than Oliver's now; and had, alas, to be 'ejected with his Curate in 1642,' as an Anti-Puritan Malignant:[1] —Oliver's course and his having altogether parted now! Nay farther, the same Downhall, surviving the Restoration, became 'Archdeacon of Huntingdon' in 1667: fifty-one years ago he had lodged there as Oliver Cromwell's Guest and Gossip; and now he comes as Archdeacon,—with a very strange set of *Annals* written in his old head, poor Downhall! He died 'at Cottingham in Northamptonshire, his native region, in the winter-time of 1669;'—and so, with his Ashmole Letter, ends.[2]

No. 2

At Ely

[Vol. i. p. 95.]

There is at Ely a Charitable Foundation now above four centuries old; which in Oliver's time was named the *Ely Feoffees' Fund*, and is now known as *Parsons' Charity*; the old Records of which, though somewhat mutilated during those years, offer one or two faint but indubitable vestiges of Oliver, not to be neglected on the present occasion.

This *Charity* of ancient worthy Thomas *Parsons*, it appears, had, shortly before Oliver's arrival in Ely, been somewhat remodelled by a new Royal Charter: To be henceforth more specially devoted to the Poor of Ely; to be governed by Twelve Feoffees; namely, by Three Dignitaries of the Cathedral, and by Nine Townsmen of the better sort, who are permanent, and fill-up their own vacancies,[3] of which latter class, Oliver Cromwell, Esquire, most likely elected in his Uncle's stead, was straightway made one. The old Books, as we say, are specially defective in those years;

[1] Vol. i. p. 89.

[2] Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*, iii. 187; and MS. communicated by Mr. Cooper, resting on the following formidable mass of documentary Authorities:

Cole MSS. (which is a Transcript of Baker's *History of St. John's College*), 166, 358; Rymer's *Fœdera*, xix. 261; Le Neve's *Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, p. 160; Kennet's *Register and Chronicle*, pp. 207, 251; Walker's *Sufferings*, ii. 129, 130; Wood's *Athenæ* (2d edition, passage wanting in both the 1st and 3d). ii. 1179.

[3] *Report of the Commissioners concerning Charities* (London, 1837): distinct account of it there, § Cambridgeshire, pp. 218-20.

'have lost 40 or 50 leaves at the end of Book I., and 12 leaves at the beginning of Book II.,' leaves cut out for the sake of Oliver's autograph, or as probably for other reasons. Detached Papers, however, still indicate that Oliver was one of the Feoffees, and a moderately diligent one, almost from his first residence there. Here, under date some six or seven months after his arrival, is a small Entry in certain loose Papers, labelled '*The Accompts of Mr. John Hand and Mr. Wm. Crauford, Collectors of the Revenewes belonging to the Towne of Ely*' (that is, to Parsons' Charity in Ely); and under this special head, '*The Disbursements of Mr. John Hand, from the — of August* 1636 *unto the — of* — 1641:

'Given to divers Poore People at ye Work-house, in the presence of Mr. Archdeacon of Ely,[1] Mr. Oliver Cromwell, Mr. John Goodricke and others, 10th February 1636, as appeareth . . . £16 14 0'

And under this other head, '*The Disbursements of Mr. Crauford*,' which unluckily are not dated, and run vaguely from 1636 to 1641:

'Item to Jones, by Mr. Cromwell's consent . . £1 0 0'

Twice or thrice elsewhere the name of Cromwell is mentioned, but not as indicating activity on his part, indicating merely Feoffeeship and passivity;[2]—except in the following instance, where there is still extant a small Letter of his. 'Mr. Hand,' as we have seen, is one of the 'Collectors,' himself likewise a Feoffee or Governor, the Governors (it would appear) taking that office in turn.

"*To Mr. Hand, at Ely: These*"

"Ely," 13th September 1638.

MR. HAND,—I doubt not but I shall be as good as my word for your Money. I desire you to deliver Forty Shillings of the Town Money to this Bearer, to pay for the physic for Benson's cure. If the Gentlemen will not allow it at the time of account, keep this Note, and I will pay it out of my own purse. So I rest, your loving friend, OLIVER CROMWELL.*

[1] One 'Wigmore'; the Dean was 'William Fuller'; the Bishop 'Matthew Wren,' very famous for his Popish Candles and other fripperies, who lay long in the Tower afterwards. These were the three Clerical Feoffees in Oliver's time.

[2] Excerpts of Documents obligingly communicated by the Dean of Ely,—now *penes* Mr. Cooper of Cambridge.

* *Memoirs of the Protector*, by Oliver Cromwell, a Descendant, etc. (London, 1822), i. 351; where also (p. 350) is found, in a very indistinct state, the above-given Entry from *Hand's Accompts*, misdated '1641,' instead of 10th February 1636-7. The Letter to Hand 'has not been among the Feoffees' Papers for several years'; and is now (1846) none knows where.

Poor 'Benson' is an old invalid. Among Mr. Hand's Disbursements for the year 1636 is this:

'For phisicke and surgery for old Benson . . £2 7 4'

And among Crauford's, of we know not what year:

'To Benson at divers times . . . . . £0 15 0'

Let him have forty shillings more, poor old man; and if the Gentlemen won't allow it, Oliver Cromwell will pay it out of his own purse.

No. 3

CAMBRIDGE: CORPORATION (1641); WHELOCKE (1643)

[Vol. i. pp. 119;—132, 143.]

Two vestiges of Oliver at Cambridge, in his parliamentary and in his military capacity, there still are.

1. The first, which relates to a once very public Affair, is his Letter (his and Lowry's) to the Cambridge Authorities, in May 1641; Letter accompanying the celebrated 'Protestation and Preamble' just sent forth by the House of Commons, with earnest invitation to all constituencies to adopt the same.

'*A Preamble, with the Protestation made by the whole House of Commons the 3d of May* 1641, *and assented unto by the Lords of the Upper House the 4th of May.*

'We, the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses of the Commons House, in Parliament, finding, to the grief of our hearts, That the designs of the Priests and Jesuits, and other Adherents to the See of Rome, have been of late more boldly and frequently put in practice than formerly, to the undermining, and danger of ruin, of the True Reformed Religion in his Majesty's Dominions established: And finding also that there hath been, and having cause to suspect there still are even during the sitting in Parliament, endeavours to subvert the Fundamental Laws of England and Ireland, and to introduce the exercise of an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, by most pernicious and wicked counsels, plots and conspiracies: And that the long intermission, and unhappier breach, of Parliaments hath occasioned many illegal Taxations, whereupon the Subjects have been prosecuted and grieved: And that divers Innovations

and Superstitions have been brought into the Church; multitudes driven out of his Majesty's dominions; jealousies raised and fomented between the King and People; a Popish Army levied in Ireland,[1] and Two Armies brought into the bowels of this Kingdom, to the hazard of his Majesty's royal Person, the consumption of the revenue of the Crown, and the treasure of this Realm: And lastly, finding great causes of jealousy that endeavours[2] have been and are used to bring the English Army into misunderstanding of this Parliament, thereby to incline that Army by force to bring to pass those wicked counsels,—

'Have therefore thought good to join ourselves in a declaration of our united affections and resolutions; and to make this ensuing

'PROTESTATION

'I, A. B., do in the Presence of Almighty God promise, vow and protest, To maintain and defend as far as lawfully I may, with my life, power and estate, the True Reformed Protestant Religion, expressed in the Doctrine of the Church of England, against all Popery and Popish Innovations, and according to the duty of my allegiance to his Majesty's royal Person, Honour and Estate: as also the Power and Privilege of Parliament, the Lawful Rights and Liberties of the Subjects; and every Person that maketh this Protestation in whatsoever he shall do in the lawful pursuance of the same. And to my power, as far as lawfully I may, I will oppose, and by good ways and means endeavour to bring to condign punishment all such as shall, by force, practice, counsel, plots, conspiracies or otherwise, do anything to the contrary in this present Protestation contained.

'And farther I shall, in all just and honourable ways, endeavour to preserve the union and peace betwixt the Three Kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland; and neither for hope, fear nor other respect, shall relinquish this Promise, Vow and Protestation.'[3]

This is on Monday 3d May 1641, while the Apprentices are bellowing in Palaceyard: Cromwell is one of those that take the Protestation this same Monday, present in the House while the redacting of it goes on. Long lists of Members take it,—not John Lowry, who I conclude must have been absent. On Wednesday 5th May, there is this Order:

'*Ordered*, That the Protestation made by the Members of this House, with the Preamble, shall be together printed'; Clerk to attest the copies;

[1] By Strafford lately, against the Scots and their enterprises.

[2] This is the important point, nearly shaded out of sight: 'finding the great causes of jealousy, endeavours have' etc. is the tremulous, indistinct and even ungrammatical phrase in the original.

[3] *Commons Journals*, ii. 132 (3d May 1641).

all Members to send them down to the respective Sheriffs, Justices, to the respective Cities, Boroughs, and 'intimate with what willingness the Members made this Protestation; and that as they justify the taking of it in themselves, so they cannot but approve it in them that shall likewise take it.'

Strict *Order*, at the same time, That all Members 'now in Town and not sick shall appear here Tomorrow at Eight of Clock,' and take this Protestation: non-appearance to be 'accounted a contempt of this House,' and expose one to be expelled, or worse;—in spite of which John Lowry still does not sign, not till Friday morning, after even 'Philip Warwick' and 'Endymion Porter' have signed: whence I infer he was out of Town or unwell,[1]—This Letter, which seems to be of Cromwell's writing, still stands on the Corporation Books of Cambridge; read in Common Council there on the 11th May; at which time, said Letter being read, the Town Authorities did one and all zealously accept the same, and signed the Protestation on the spot. The Letter is not dated; but as Lowry signed on Friday, and the Corporation meeting is on Tuesday the 11th, we may safely guess the Letter to have arrived on Monday, and to have been written on Saturday.

To the Right Worshipful the Mayor and Aldermen of Cambridge, with the rest of that Body: Present these

"London, 8th" May 1641.

GENTLEMEN,—We heartily salute you; and herewith, according to the directions of the House of Commons in this present Parliament assembled, send unto you a Protestation;—the contents whereof will best appear in the thing itself. The Preamble therewith printed doth declare the weighty reasons inducing them, in their own persons, to begin "making it."

We shall only let you know that, with alacrity and willingness, the Members of that Body entered thereinto. It was in them a right honourable and necessary act; not unworthy your imitation. You shall hereby as the Body Represented avow the practice of the Representative. The conformity is in itself praiseworthy; and will be by them approved. The result may, through the Almighty's blessing, become stability and security to the whole Kingdom. Combination carries strength with it. It's dreadful to adversaries; especially when it's in order to the duty we owe to God, to the loyalty we owe to our King and Sovereign, and to

[1] *Commons Journals*, ii. 133, 5, 6, 7. Rushworth, iv. 241 et seqq.

the affection due to our Country and Liberties,—the main ends of this Protestation now herewith sent you.

We say no more: but commit you to the protection of Him who is able to save you; desiring your prayers for the good success of our present affairs and endeavours,—which indeed are not ours, but the Lord's and yours. Whom we desire to serve in integrity: and bidding you heartily Farewell, rest, your loving friends to be commanded,

OLIVER CROMWELL.
JOHN LOWRY.*

2. The second is a small antiquarian relic (date, Spring 1643); dim and of little worth in its detached form, but capable of lighting itself up, and the reader's fancy along with it, when set in the right combination.

'Mr. Abraham Whelocke,' whose name and works are still well enough known, was, later in that century, 'the celebrated Professor of Arabic at Oxford'; and is now, we perceive, in this Spring 1643, a Student at Cambridge; of meditative peripatetic habits; often walking into the country with a little Arabic Volume in his pocket:—apt to be fluttered at the Town Gates by these new military arrangements. In this difficulty he calls on Colonel Cromwell; and—But his little Volume itself is still extant, and tells its own story and his. A thin duodecimo, in white hog-skin binding now grown very brown; size handy for the smallest coat-pocket:—and on the fly-leaf, in Oliver's hand, stands written (signed successively by three other Committee-men whom Whelocke would soon search out for the feat):

4th April 1643.

Suffer the Bearer hereof, Mr. Abraham Whelocke, to pass your guards so often as he shall have occasion, into and out of Cambridge, towards Little Shelford or any other place; and this shall be your warrant.

THO. COOKE. OLIVER CROMWELL.†
EDW. CLENCHE. JAMES THOMPSON.

* Cambridge Corporation Day-Book: in Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*, iii. 311. Printed also, with errors, in O. Cromwell's *Memoirs of the Protector*, i. 406

† Whelocke's Arabic Volume (a version into Arabic of one of Bellarmin's Books, by some Armenian Patriarch, for benefit of the Heathen, Rome, 1627,—with slight marks of Whelocke on the other fly-leaves); Volume now in the possession of Dr. Lee, Hartwell, Buckinghamshire, who has kindly given me sight of it.—Next year, under this Pass of Oliver's, lower half of the same fly-leaf, there is a Renewal of it, or Copy in almost precisely the same terms, written and signed by the Earl of Manchester (in ink now grown very pale, while Oliver's has changed to strong red-brown), of date '27th February 1643'-4, when his Lordship again for a time (see antea, vol. i. p. 181) had become chief Authority in Cambridge. (*Note of* 1857)

No. 4

Eastern Association: Threatened Rising of Papists in Norfolk

[Vol. i. p. 130.]

Two Committee-Letters, both of Oliver's writing; illustrations of his diligent procedure in the birth-time of the Eastern Association.

To our noble Friends, Sir John Hobart, Sir Thomas Richardson, Sir John Potts, Sir John Palgrave, "Sir" John Spelman, Knights and Baronets, and the rest of the Deputy-Lieutenants for the County of Norfolk: Present these

"Cambridge, 26th January 1642."

Gentlemen,—The Parliament and the Lord General have taken into their care the peace and protection of these Eastern parts of the Kingdom; and to that end have sent down hither some part of their Forces,—as likewise a Commission, with certain Instructions to us and others directed; all which do highly concern the peace and safety of your County. Therefore we entreat that some of you would give us a meeting at Mildenhall[1] in Suffolk, on Tuesday the 31st of this instant January. And in the mean time that you would make all possible speed to have in a readiness, against any notice shall be given, a considerable force of Horse and Foot to join with us, to keep any Enemy's force from breaking-in upon your yet peaceable Country. For we have certain intelligence that some of Prince Rupert's forces are come as far as Wellingborough in Northamptonshire, and that the Papists in Norfolk are solicited to rise presently upon you.

Thus presenting all our neighbourly and loving respects, we rest, your respective friends to serve you,

	Miles Sandys.
Terrell Jocelyn	Franc. Russell.
Willm. Marche.	Oliver Cromwell.
Edw. Clenche.	Thomas Symons.
James Thompson.	Robert Clerke.*

[1] 'Millnall' he writes.

* Original in Tanner mss. lxiv. 116

To our worthy Friends, Sir John Hobart, Sir Thomas Richardson, Sir John Potts, Sir John Palgrave, Sir John Spelman, Knights and Baronets. Present these

Cambridge, 27th January 1642.

GENTLEMEN,—The grounds of your Jealousies are real. They concur with our intelligences from Windsor; the sum whereof we give unto you:

From a prisoner taken by Sir Samuel Luke (one Mr. Gandy, a Captain of Dragooners) this confession was drawn, That the Papists by direction from Oxford should rise in Norfolk. Whereupon it was desired from thence That Sir Henry Benningfield and Mr. Gandy, their persons should be seized, and that we should do our endeavour to make stay of the Person and Letter which contained this encouragement to them,—he being described by his horse and clothes. But we believe "he" was past us before we had notice, for our Scouts could not light on him.

As for the other consideration of his Majesty's forces being invited into these parts, we have confirmation thereof from all hands;—and there is this reason to doubt it will be so, Because his Majesty is weary of Oxford; there being little in those parts left to sustain his Army,—and surely the fulness of these parts and fitness of them for Horse are too-too good arguments to invite him hither. Thus we agree in the grounds of our doubt and fear.

The next thought is of Remedy. And in this we account it our happiness to consult with you of common safety, to be had either by the Association you speak of, or by[1] any other consideration by communication of assistance, according to necessity. Wherein I hope you shall find all readiness and cheerfulness in us, to assist you to break any strength that shall be gathered; or to prevent it, if desired,—having timely notice given from you thereof. The way will be best settled, if you give us a meeting, according to our desire by a Letter particularly prepared[2] before we received yours, and now sent unto you for that purpose together with these.

[1] Comes to the end of the sheet, and turns to the margin.
[2] Preceding Letter, seemingly, or rather Copy of it.

This is all we can say for the present; but that we are, your friends and servants,

MILES SANDYS.

THOM. MARTYN. FRANC. RUSSELL. TERRELL JOCELYN.
OLIVER CROMWELL. THOS. SYMONS.
WILLM. MARCHE. ROBERT CLERKE.
EDW. CLENCHE. JAMES THOMPSON.

"P.S." We sent to Sir William Spring to offer him our assistance for the apprehension of Sir H. Benningfield, etc. We have not yet received any answer.—We knew not how to address ourselves to you. It 's our desire to assist you in that or any other public service.*

No. 5

GAINSBOROUGH FIGHT

[Vol. i. p. 157.]

HERE are other details concerning Gainsborough Fight; Two Letters upon it that have successively turned up.

1. The first is a Letter two days earlier in date; evidently not written by Cromwell, though signed by him and two chief Lincolnshire Committeemen, as he passes through their City on his way to Huntingdon. Sir Edward Ayscough, or 'Ayscoghe' as he here signs himself,—probably a kinsman of Sir George the Sailor's, possibly the father of the 'Captain Ayscoghe' mentioned here,—he and John Broxholme, Esq., both of the Lincolnshire Committee,[1] are clearly the writers of the present Letter.

'*For the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Commons House of Parliament*: *These*

'Lincoln, 29th July 1643 (Six o'clock at night).

'NOBLE SIR,—We, having solicited a conjunction of Forces towards the raising of the Siege of Gainsborough, did appoint a general rendezvous at North Scarle to be upon Thursday the 27th of July. To the which place, Sir John Meldrum with about Three-hundred Horse and Dragoons, and Colonel Cromwell with about Six or Seven Troops of

* Original, in Cromwell's own hand throughout, in Tanner MSS. lxiv. 129.
[1] Husband, ii. 171.

Horse and about One-hundred Dragoons, came. With these they marched towards Gainsborough; and meeting with a good party of the Enemy about a mile from the Town, beat them back,—but not with any commendations to our Dragoons. We advanced still towards the Enemy, all along under the Cony-Warren, which is upon a high Hill above Gainsborough. The Lincoln Troops had the van, two Northampton, and three small Troops of Nottingham the battle, and Colonel Cromwell the rear; the Enemy in the mean time with his body keeping the top of the Hill.

Some of the Lincoln Troops began to advance up the Hill; which were opposed by a force of the Enemy; but our men repelled them, until all our whole body was got up the Hill. The Enemy kept his ground; which he chose for his best advantage, with a body of Horse of about Three Regiments of Horse, and a reserve behind them consisting of General Cavendish his Regiment, which was a very full regiment. We presently put our Horse in order; which we could hardly do by reason of the cony-holes and the difficult ascent up the Hill; the Enemy being within musket-shot of us, and advancing towards us before we could get ourselves into any good order. But with those Troops we could get up, we charged the greater body of the Enemy; came-up to the sword's point; and disputed it so a little with them, that our men pressing heavily upon them, they could not bear it, but all their Body ran away, some on the one side of their Reserve, others on the other. Divers of our Troops pursuing had the chase about six miles.

'General Cavendish with his Regiment standing firm all the while, and facing some of our Troops that did not follow the chase,—Colonel Cromwell, with his Major Whalley and one or two Troops more, were following the chase, and were in the rear of that Regiment. When they saw the body stand unbroken, "they" endeavoured, with much ado, to get into a body those three or four Troops which were divided. Which when they had done,—perceiving the Enemy to charge two or three of the Lincoln scattered Troops, and to make them retire by reason of their being many more than they in number; and the rest being elsewhere engaged and following the chase,—Colonel Cromwell with his three Troops followed them in the rear; brake this Regiment; and forced their General, with divers of their men, into a quagmire in the bottom of the Hill. Where one of Colonel Cromwell his men cut General Cavendish on the head; by reason whereof he fell off his horse; and the Colonel's[1] Captain-Lieutenant thrust him into the side, whereof within two hours he died;—the rest chasing his Regiment quite out of the field, having execution of them, so that the field was left wholly unto us, not a man appearing. Upon this, divers of our men went into the Town, carrying-in to my Lord Willoughby some of the Ammunition we

[1] Original has 'his'; and for 'General Cavendish' in the foregoing line 'him.'

brought for him ;—believing that our work was at an end ; saving to take care how to bring farther provisions into the Town, to enable it to stand a siege in case my Lord Newcastle should draw-up with his Army to attempt it.

'Whilst we were considering of these things, word was brought us That there was a small remainder of the Enemy's force not yet meddled with, about a mile beyond Gainsborough, with some Foot, and two pieces of Ordnance. We having no Foot, desired to have some out of the Town ; which my Lord Willoughby granted, and sent us about Six-hundred Foot : with these we advanced towards the Enemy. When we came thither to the top of the hill, we beat divers Troops of the Enemy's Horse back : but at the bottom we saw a Regiment of Foot ; after that another (my Lord Newcastle's own Regiment, consisting of nineteen colours) appearing also, and many Horse ;—which indeed was his Army. Seeing these there so unexpectedly, we advised what to do.

Colonel Cromwell was sent to command the Foot to retire, and to draw-off the Horse. By the time he came to them, the Enemy was marching up the hill. The Foot did retire disorderly into the Town, which was not much above a quarter of a mile from them ; upon whom the Enemy's Horse did some small execution. The Horse also did retire in some disorder, about half a mile,—until they came to the end of a field where a passage was ; where, by the endeavour of Colonel Cromwell, "of" Major Whalley and Captain Ayscoghe, a body was drawn up. With these we faced the Enemy ; stayed their pursuit ; and opposed them with about four Troops of Colonel Cromwell's and four Lincoln Troops ; the Enemy's body in the mean time increasing very much from the Army. But such was the goodness of God, giving courage and valour to our men and officers, that whilst Major Whalley and Captain Ayscoghe, sometimes the one with four Troops faced the Enemy, sometimes the other, to the exceeding glory of God be it spoken, and the great honour of those two Gentlemen, they with this handful forced the Enemy so, and dared them to their teeth in at the least eight or nine several removes,—the Enemy following at their heels ; and they, though their horses were exceedingly tired, retreating in order, near carbine-shot of the Enemy, who thus followed them, firing upon them ; Colonel Cromwell gathering-up the main body and facing them behind those two lesser bodies,—that, in despite of the Enemy, we brought-off our Horse in this order, without the loss of two men.

'Thus have you a true relation of this notable service : wherein God is to have all the glory. And care must be taken speedily to relieve this noble Lord from his and the State's Enemies, by a speedy force sent unto us,—and that without any delay ; or else he will be lost, and that important

Town, and all those parts; and way made for this Army instantly to advance into the South. Thus resting upon your care in speeding present Succours hither, we humbly take our leaves, and remain, your humble servants,

'Edw. Ayscoghe.
'Jo. Broxolme.
'Oliver Cromwell.'[1]

2. The Second Letter, the Original of which still exists, is of much greater interest; being from Cromwell's own hand, and evidently thrown-off in a quite familiar and even hasty fashion. Written, as would appear, on the march from Lincoln to Huntingdon; no mention precisely where; but probably at the Army's quarters on the evening of their first day's march homewards. In the original the *surname* of the 'Sir John' to whom the Letter addresses itself has been, probably by some royalist descendant (of mixed emotions), so industriously crossed out with many strokes of the pen, that not only is it entirely illegible, but the polite possessor of the Autograph cannot undertake to guess for me how many letters may have been in the word. On other grounds I pretty confidently undertake, nevertheless, to read *Wray*: Sir John Wray of Glentworth, Member for Lincolnshire, and on the Committee of that County; at present, I suppose, attending his duty in London. Glentworth House is almost within sight and sound of these transactions; the well-affected Knight of the Shire, for many reasons, may fitly hear a word of them, while we rest from our march. Sir John's Mother, I find by the Dryasdust records,[2] was a Montague of Boughton; so that 'your noble Kinsman' near the end of this Letter will mean my Lord of Manchester,' 'Sergeant-Major of the Association,' a man well qualified to give information.

To my noble Friend Sir John "Wraye," Knight and Baronet: Present these

"Eastern Association," 30th July 1643.

Sir,—The particular respects I have received at your hands do much oblige me, but the great affection you bear to the public much more: for that cause I am bold to acquaint you with some late Passages wherein it hath pleased God to favour us;—which, I am assured, will be welcome to you.

[1] Tanner MSS. lxii. 194; and, with little or no variation, Baker MSS. xxviii. 434.
[2] Burke's *Extinct Baronetage*, § Wray.

After Burleigh House was taken, we went towards Gainsborough to a general rendezvous, where met us Lincolnshire Troops; so that we were Nineteen or Twenty Troops, when we were together, of Horse and Foot, and about Three or Four Troops of Dragooners. We marched with this force to Gainsborough. Upon Friday morning, being the 28th of July, we met with a forlorn-hope of the Enemy, and with our men brake it in. We marched on to[1] the Town's end. The Enemy being upon the top of a very steep Hill over our heads, some of our men attempted to march up that Hill; the Enemy opposed; our men drove them up, and forced their passage. By the time[2] we came up, we saw the enemy well set in two bodies: the foremost a large fair body, the other a reserve consisting of six or seven brave Troops. Before we could get our force into order, the great body of the Enemy advanced; they were within musket-shot of us when we came to the pitch of the Hill: we advanced likewise towards them; and both charged, each upon the other: Thus advancing, we came to pistol and sword's point, both in that close order that it was disputed very strongly who should break the other. But our men pressing a little heavily upon them, they began to give back; which our men perceiving, instantly forced them,—brake that whole body; some of them flying on this side, some on the other side, of the reserve. Our men, pursuing them in great disorder, had the execution about four, or some say six miles. With much ado, this done, and all their force being gone, not one man standing, but all beaten out of the field,—we drew-up our body together, and kept the field,—the half of our men being well worn in the chase of the Enemy.

Upon this we endeavoured the Business we came for; which was the relief of the Town with Ammunition. We sent-in some Powder, which was the great want of that Town. Which done, word was brought us that the Enemy had about Six Troops of Horse, and Three-hundred Foot, a little on the other side of the Town. Upon this we drew some musketeers out of the Town, and with our body of horse marched towards them. We saw two Troops towards the Mill; which my men drove down into a little village at the bottom of the Hill: when *we* [*we* emphatic] came with our horse to the top of that Hill, we saw in the bottom a whole regiment

[1] Means 'towards.

[2] 'that time' in orig.

of Foot, after that another and another,—and, as some counted, about Fifty Colours of Foot. Which indeed was my Lord Newcastle's Army;—with which he now besieges Gainsborough.

My Lord Willoughby commanded me to bring-off the Foot and Horse: which I endeavoured; but the Foot (the Enemy pressing on with the Army) retreated in some disorder into the Town, being of that Garrison. Our Horse also, being wearied, and unexpectedly pressed by this new force, so great,—gave off, not being able to brave the charge. But, with some difficulty, we got our Horse into a body, and with them faced the Enemy; and retreated in such order that though the Enemy followed hard, they were not able to disorder us, but we got them off safe, to Lincoln, from this fresh force, and lost not one man. The honour of this retreat, equal to any of late times, is due to Major Whalley and Captain Ayscough, next under God.

This Relation I offer you for the honour of God (to whom be all the praise); as also to let you know you have some servants faithful to you, to incite to action. I beseech you let this good success quicken your countrymen to this engagement! It's great evidence of God's favour. Let not your business be starved. I know, if all be of your mind, we shall have an honourable return. It's your own business:—a reasonable strength now raised speedily may do that which much more will not do after some time. Undoubtedly, if they succeed here, you will see them in the bowels of your Association! "As" for the time, you will hear it from your noble Kinsman and Colonel Palgrave: if we be not able in ten days to relieve Gainsborough, a noble Lord will be lost, many good Foot, and a considerable Pass over Trent in these parts.—The Lord prosper your endeavours and ours. I beseech you present my humble service to the high Honourable Lady. Sir, I am your faithful servant, OLIVER CROMWELL.

P.S.—I stayed, "from the chase after our first encounter," two of my own Troops, and my Major stayed his; in all three. There were in front of the Enemy's reserve three or four of the Lincoln Troops yet unbroken: the Enemy charged those Troops; utterly broke and chased them; so that none of the Troops on our part stood, but my three. Whilst the Enemy was following our flying

Troops, I charged him on the rear with my three Troops; drove him down the Hill, brake him all to pieces; forced Lieutenant-General Cavendish into a Bog, who fought in this reserve: one Officer cut him on the head; and, as he lay, my Captain-Lieutenant Berry thrust him into the short ribs, of which he died, about two hours after, in Gainsborough.*

By this Postscript is at last settled the question, Who killed Charles Cavendish? It was 'my Captain-Lieutenant Berry'; he and no other, if any one still wish to know. Richard Baxter's friend once; and otherwise a known man.

No. 6

Letter two Days prior to that Cambridge one

[Vol. i. p. 181.]

"To Sir Samuel Luke" (Member for Bedford, leading Committee-man, etc.): "These"

[*No date of Place*] 8 March 1643.

Noble Sir,—I beseech you cause Three hundred-Foot, under a Captain, to march to Buckingham upon Monday morning, there to quarter with Four-hundred Foot of Northampton, which Mr. Crew sends thither upon Monday next. There will be the Major-General "Crawford" to command them. I am going for a Thousand Foot more at least to be sent from Cambridge and out of the Associations. If any man be come to you from Cambridge, I beseech you send him to me to Bedford with all speed; let him stay for me at the Swan. Sir, I am your humble servant, Oliver Cromwell.

Present my humble service to Colonel Aylife, and tell him he promised me his coat of mail.†

* Original in the possession of Dawson Turner, Esq., Great Yarmouth; printed in *Papers of Norfolk Archæological Society* (Norwich, Jan. 1848), pp. 45-50.

† Ellis, *Original Letters illustrative of English History* (London, 1846), iv. 225.

No. 7

Two Letters: Action at Islip-Bridge and Bletchington Ditto at Bampton-in-the-Bush

[Vol. i. pp. 203, 204.]

1. Written the night before that in the Text, on the same subject.

"For the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Fairfax, General of the Army: These"

"Bletchington," 24th April 1645.

Right Honourable,—I met at my rendezvous at Watlington, on Wednesday last; where I stayed somewhat long for the coming-up of the Body of Horse, which your Honour was pleased to give me the command of. After the coming whereof, I marched with all expedition to Wheatley-Bridge; having sent before to Major-General Browne, for what intelligence he could afford me of the state of affairs in Oxford (I being not so well acquainted in those parts),—of the condition, and number, of the Enemy in Oxford. Who himself informed me by letters, That Prince Maurice his forces were not in Oxford, as I supposed; and that,—as he was informed by four very honest and faithful Gentlemen that came out of Oxford to him a little before the receipt of my letter,—there were Twelve pieces of Ordnance with their carriages and wagons, ready for their march; and in another place Five more pieces with their carriages, ready to advance with their Convoy.

After I received this satisfaction from Major-General Browne, I advanced this morning,—being Thursday the twenty-fourth of April,—near to Oxford. There I lay before the Enemy; who perceiving it at Oxford, and being in readiness to advance, sent out a party of Horse against me: part of the Queen's Regiment, part of the Earl of Northampton's Regiment, and part of the Lord Wilmot's Regiment;—who made an infall upon me.

Whereupon I drew forth your Honour's Regiment,—lately mine own,—against the Enemy (who had drawn themselves into several Squadrons, to be ready for action);—and commanded your

Honour's own Troop therein, to charge a Squadron of the Enemy. Who performed it so gallantly that, after a short firing, they entered the whole Squadron, and put them to a confusion. And the rest of my Horse presently entering after them, they made a total rout of the Enemy; and had the chase of them three or four miles;—and killed Two-hundred; took as many prisoners, and about Four-hundred Horses. "Also" the Queen's colours, richly embroidered, with the Crown in the midst, and eighteen flower-de-luces wrought all about in gold, with a golden cross on the top. —Many escaped to Oxford, and divers were drowned.

Part of them likewise betook themselves to a strong House in Bletchington; where Colonel Windebank kept a Garrison, with near Two-hundred horse and foot therein. Which, after surrounding it, I summoned:—but they seemed very dilatory in their answer. At last, they sent out Articles to me of Surrender,—which I have sent your Honour enclosed:[1]—and after a large treaty thereupon, the Surrender was agreed upon between us. They left behind them between Two or Three hundred muskets, Seventy horses; besides other arms and ammunition.—I humbly rest, your honour's humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

2. A few months since, in 1868, there has incidentally turned up, among the *Manuscripts of the House of Lords*, and been reawakened into daylight and publicity, from its dark sleep of 223 years, the 'contemporaneous Copy' of a Letter by Oliver himself; which curiously adjusts itself to its old combination here, completely elucidating for us those small Bletchington-Bampton transactions; and is of itself otherwise worth reading. It is of date the day *before* that Farringdon Affair

To the Right Honourable the Committee of Both Kingdoms, at Derby House

"Farringdon," April 28th, 1645.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—Since my last it has pleased God to bless me with more success in your service. In pursuance of your commands I marched from Bletchington to Middleton Stonies, and from thence towards Witney, as privately as I could, believing that to be a good place for interposing between the

[1] Given in Rushworth, vi. 24.

* King's Pamphlets, small 4to, no. 203, § 7.

King and the West, whether he intended Goring and Grenville, or the two Princes.

In my march I was informed of a body of foot which were marching towards Farringdon; which indeed were a commanded party of three hundred, which came a day before from Farringdon, under Colonel Richard Vaughan, to strengthen Woodstock against me, and were now returning.

I understood they were not above three-hours' march before me. I sent after them. My forlorn overtook them as they had gotten into enclosures not far from Bampton Bush, and skirmished with them. They killed some of my horses, mine killed and got some of them; but they recovered the town ("*Bampton*, i.e.") before my body came up, and my forlorn not being strong enough was not able to do more than they did. The Enemy presently barricaded-up the town, got a pretty strong house: my body coming up about eleven in the night, I sent them a summons. They slighted it. I put myself in a posture that they should not escape me, hoping to deal with them in the morning. My men charged them up to their barricades in the night; but truly they were of so good resolution that they could not force them from it; and indeed they killed some of my horses, and I was forced to wait until the morning: besides, they had got a pass over a brook. In the night they strengthened themselves as well as they could in the storehouse. In the morning I sent a drum to them; but their answer was, they would not quit except they might march out upon honourable terms. The terms I offered were, to submit all to mercy. They refused with anger. I insisted upon them, and prepared to storm. I sent them word to desire them to deliver out the gentleman and his family; which they did; for they must expect extremity, if they put me to a storm. After some time spent, all was yielded to mercy. Arms I took, muskets near 200, besides other arms, about two barrels of powder, soldiers and officers near 200. Nine score besides officers, the rest being scattered and killed before. The chief prisoners were Colonel Sir Richard Vaughan, Lieutenant-Colonel Littleton, and Major Lee, two or three Captains, and other Officers.

As I was upon my march, I heard of some horse of the Enemy which crossed me towards Evesham. I sent Colonel Fiennes

after them; whom God so blessed that he took about thirty prisoners, 100 horse, and three horse colours. Truly his diligence was great; and this I must testify, that I find no man more ready to all services than himself. I would not say so, if I did not find it: if his men were at all considered, I should hope you might expect very real service from them. I speak this the rather because I find him a gentleman of that fidelity to you, and so conscientious, that he would all his troop were as religious and civil as any, and makes it a great part of his care to get them so.

In this march my men also got one of the Queen's troopers, and of them and others about 100 horses. This morning Colonel John Fiennes sent me in the gentleman that waits upon the Lord Digby in his chamber, who was going to General Goring about exchange of a prisoner. He tells me the King's forces were drawn out the last night to come to relieve Sir Richard Vaughan, and Legge commanded them; they were about 700 horse and 500 foot; but I believe they are gone back. He saith many of the horse were volunteer gentlemen; for I believe I have left him few others here.

I looked upon his letters, and found them directed to Marlborough. He tells me Goring is about the Devizes. I asked him what farther orders he had to him. He tells me he was only to bid him follow former orders. I pressed him to know what they were; and all that I could get was, that it was to hasten with all he had up to the King to Oxford. He saith he has about 3000 horse and 1000 foot; that he is discontented that Prince Rupert commanded away his foot.

I am now quartered up to Farringdon. I shall have an eye towards him. I have that which was my regiment, and a part of Colonel Sydney's five troops "that" were re-created, and a part of Colonel Vermuyden's, and five troops of Colonel Fiennes's; three whereof and Sir John "Browne's"[1] and Captain Hammond's I sent with the first prisoners to Aylesbury. It's great pity we want dragoons. I believe most of their petty garrisons might have been taken in, and other services done; for the Enemy is in high fear. God does terrify them. It's good to take the season; and surely God delights that you have endeavoured to

[1] Orig. illegible.

reform your armies; and I beg it may be done more and more. Bad men and discontented say it 's faction. I wish to be of the faction that desires to avoid the oppression of the poor people of this miserable Nation, upon whom who can look without a bleeding heart? Truly it grieves my soul, our men should still be upon free quarters, as they are. I beseech you help it what and as soon as you can. My Lords, pardon me this boldness; it is because I find in these things wherein I serve you, that He does all. I profess his very hand has led me. I preconsulted none of these things.

My Lords and Gentlemen, I wait your farther pleasure, subscribing myself, OLIVER CROMWELL.*

No. 8

BATTLE OF NASEBY. BURIAL OF COLONEL PICKERING TWO LETTERS CONCERNING ELY

[Vol. i. pp. 94, 210, 232.]

(*a.*) THE following very rough Notes of a studious Tourist will perhaps be acceptable to some readers. Notes dashed down evidently in the most rough-and-ready manner, but with a vigilant eye both on the Old Books and on the actual Ground of Naseby; taken, as appears, in the year 1842.

'*Battle of Naseby*, 14th June 1645: *From Sprigge* (London, 1647); *Rushworth*, vi. (London, 1701); *Old Pamphlets; and the Ground.*

'*Fairfax's Stages towards Naseby* (Sprigge, p. 30 et seqq.). Wednesday 11th June, a rainy day: Marched "from Stony Stratford to Wootton," —three miles south of Northampton. Bad quarters there: "but the Mayor came," etc.—Thursday 12th June: From Wootton to (not "Guilsborough four miles west of Northampton," as Sprigge writes, but evidently) Kislingbury and the Farmsteads round. The King "lies encamped on Burrough Hill" (five miles off); has been "hunting," this

* *Notes and Queries*, 8 Aug. 1868;—printed there, as I learn on inquiry, 'from a contemporaneous Copy' found among the House of Lords MSS. in the course of some official examination going on there: corrected and investigated into clearness for me by the kindness of John Forster, Esq., most obliging of Friends, whose final remark on it is: 'As to Farringdon' (Letter xxvii. of Text), 'though Cromwell had now crossed the river, and was quartered up to the place, he was not in adequate force for reducing it. "It 's great pity we want dragoons," is his remark in this Letter; and, according to Rushworth s statement, he had already sent to Abingdon for four or five companies of infantry. Burgess knew very well, there is little doubt. the real state of affairs.' (*Note of* 1869.)

day: "his horses all at grass." The night again wet; Fairfax, riding about, all night, on the spy is stopped by one of his own sentries, etc.: "at Flower" (near Weedon), sees the King's Forces all astir on the Burrough Hill, about four in the morning; "firing their huts"; rapidly making off,—Northward, as it proved. At six, a Council of War. Cromwell, greatly to our joy, has just come-in from the Associated Counties,—"received with shouts." Major Harrison, with horse, is sent towards Daventry to explore; Ireton, also with horse, to the Northward, after the King's main body. "We" Fairfax's main-body, now set forward "towards Harborough," flanking the King; and that night,—Friday 13th June,—arrive (not at "Gilling," as Sprigge has it,—is there any such place?—but) at Guilsborough.[1] Which is the last of the *Stages*.

'The King's van is now, this Friday night, at Harborough; his rear is quartered in Naseby,—where Ireton beats them up (probably about half-past nine), "taking prisoners," etc.: and so the fugitives rouse the King out of his bed "at Lubenham":[2]—who thereupon drives-off to Prince Rupert at Harborough; arrives about midnight; calls a Council ("resting himself in a chair in a low room," till Rupert and the rest get on their clothes); and there, after debate,[3] determines on turning back to beat the Roundheads for this affront.—Ireton lies at Naseby, therefore; "we" (Fairfax and the Army), at Guilsborough, all this night.

'*Battle of Naseby.* Saturday 14th June 1645. Starting at three in the morning, we arrive about five at Naseby. King "reported to be at Harborough," uncertain whitherward next: behold, "great bodies of his troops are *seen* coming over the Hill from Harborough towards us";—he has turned, and is for fighting us, then! We put our Army in order,—"large fallow field northwest of Naseby," "the brow of the Hill running east and west" "for something like a mile": King has sunk out of sight in a hollow; but comes up again nearer us,[4] and now evidently drawn-out for battle. We fall back, "about a hundred paces, from the brow of the Hill," to hide ourselves and our plans: he rushes on the faster, thinking we run ("much of his ordnance left behind"): the Battle joins on the very brow of the Hill. Their word, *Queen Mary*; ours, *God is our Strength*.

'About Three-hundred Musketeers of ours on the Left Wing, are advanced a little, as a forlorn, down the *steep* of the Hill; they retire firing, as Rupert charges up: Ireton and Skippon command in this quarter; "Lantford Hedges," a kind of thicket which runs right down the Hill, is lined with Colonel Okey and his dragoons,—all on *foot* at

[1] Rushworth, vi. 46 (Despatch from the Parliament Commissioners).
[2] See *Iter Carolinum* too.
[3] See Clarendon, etc.
[4] 'At Sibbertoft' (Rushworth).

present, and firing lustily on Rupert as he gallops past.—Cromwell is on the extreme Right (easternmost part of the Hill): he, especially Whalley under him, dashes down *before* the Enemy's charge upwards (which is led by Langdale) can take effect; scatters said charge to the winds; not without hard cutting: a good deal impeded "by furze-bushes" and "a cony-warren." *These* Royalist Horse, Langdale's, fled all behind their own Foot, "a quarter of a mile from the Battle-ground,"—*i.e.* near to the present Farm of Dust Hill, or between that and Clipstow;—and never fought again. So that Cromwell had only to keep *them* in check; and aid his own Main-battle to the left of him: which he diligently did.

'Our Right Wing, then, has beaten Langdale. But Rupert, on the other side of the field, beats back our Left:—over "Rutput Hill," "Fenny Hill" (*Fanny* Hill, as the Old Books call it); towards Naseby Hamlet; on to our Baggage-train (which stands on the *northwest side* of the Hamlet, *eastward* of said "Rutput" and "Fenny," but northward of "Leane Leafe Hill," very sober "Hills," I perceive!). Our extreme Left was "hindered by pits and ditches" in charging; at any rate, it lost the charge; fled: and Rupert now took to attacking the Baggage and its Guard,—in vain, and with very wasteful delay. For our Main-battle too was in a critical state; and might have been overset, at this moment. Our Main-battle,—our Horse on the Left of it giving way; and the King's Foot "coming up into sight," over the brow of the Hill, "with one terrible volley," and then with swords and musket-butts,—"mostly all fled." Mostly all: except the Officers, who "snatched the colours," "fell into the Reserves with them," etc. And then, said Reserves now rushing on, and the others rallying to them; and Cromwell being victorious and diligent on the Right, and Rupert idle among the Baggage on the Left,—the whole business was erelong *retrieved*; and the King's Foot and other Force were all driven pell-mell down the Hill: towards Dust Hill (or *eastward* of the present Farm-house, I think). There the King still stood,—joined at last by Rupert, and struggling to rally his Horse for another brush: but the Foot would not halt, the Foot were all off: and the Horse too, seeing Cromwell with all *our* Horse and victorious Foot now again ready for a second charge, would not stand it; but broke; and dissipated, towards Harborough, Leicester, and Infinite Space.

'The Fight began at ten o'clock,[1] lasted three hours:[2] there were some Five-thousand Prisoners; how many Slain I cannot tell.'

(*b*) Colonel Pickering, a distinguished Officer, whose last notable exploit was at the storm of Basing House, has caught the epidemic, 'new

[1] Clarendon. [2] Cromwell's Letter.

disease' as they call it, some ancient *influenza* very prevalent and fatal during those wet winter-operations; and after a few days' illness, 'at Autree' (St. Mary *Ottery*) where the headquarter was, is dead. Sir Gilbert, his brother, is a leading man in Parliament, with much service yet before him;—Cousin Dryden, one day to be Poet Dryden, is in Northamptonshire, a lad of fourteen at present. Sprigge (p. 156) has a pious copy of 'sorrowful verse over dear Colonel Pickering's hearse'; and here is a Note concerning his funeral.

To Colonel Cicely, at Pendennis Castle: These

Tiverton, 10th December 1645.

SIR,—It's the desire of Sir Gilbert Pickering that his deceased Brother, Colonel Pickering, should be interred in your Garrison; and to the end his Funeral may be solemnised with as much honour as his memory calls for, you are desired to give all possible assistance therein. The particulars will be offered to you by his Major, Major Jubbs,[1] with whom I desire you to concur herein.

And believe it, Sir, you will not only lay a huge obligation upon myself and all the Officers of this Army, but I dare assure you the General himself will take it for an especial favour, and will not let it go without a full acknowledgment.—But what need I prompt him to so honourable an action whose own ingenuity will be argument sufficient herein? Whereof rests assured your humble servant. OLIVER CROMWELL.*

(*c*) A Couple of very small Letters, which have now (May, March, 1846) accidentally turned up, too late for insertion in the Text, may find their corner here.

1. The First, which is fully dated (just eight days before the Battle of Naseby), but has lost its specific Address, may without much doubt be referred to Ely and the 'Fortifications' going on there.[2]

"To Captain Underwood, at Ely: These"

Huntingdon, 6th June 1645.

CAPTAIN UNDERWOOD,—I desire the guards may be very well strengthened and looked unto. Let a new breastwork be made

[1] 'Gubbs' he writes.

* Polwhele's *Traditions and Recollections* (London, 1826), i. 22: with a Note on Cicely, and reference to 'the Original among the Family Papers of the Rev. G. Moore, of Grampound.'

[2] *Commons Journals*, iv. 161, 5; *Cromwelliana*, p. 16.

about the gravel,[1] and a new work half-musket-shot behind the old work; all storm-ground[1] stuff. Tell Colonel Fothergill to take care of keeping strong guards.—Not having more, I rest, yours,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

2. 'Sir Dudley North,' Baronet, of Catlidge Hall, near Newmarket, is Member for Cambridgeshire; sits too, there is small doubt, in the Ely Committee at London;—is wanted now for a small County business.

The '30th of March,' as we know, is but the fifth day of the then New Year: Oliver,—I find after some staggering, for his date will not suit with other things,—takes the cipher of the Old Year, as one is apt to do, and for 1647 still writes '1646.' As this Entry, abridged from the Commons Journals,[2] will irrefragably prove, to readers of his Letter: 'John Hobart, Esq. dismissed from being Sheriff of Cambridge and Huntingdon Shires, and *Tristram Diamond, Esq., appointed in his place*, 1st January 1646,' which, for us, and for Cromwell too on the 30th of March following, means 1647.

For the Honourable Sir Dudley North: These

"London," 30th March 1646 [*error for* 1647].

SIR,—It being desired to have the Commission of the Peace renewed in the Isle of Ely,—with some addition, as you may perceive; none left out; only Mr. Diamond, now High Sheriff of the County, and my Brother Desborow, added, there being great want of one in that part of the Isle where I live,—I desire you to join with me in a Certificate; and rest, your humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.†

No. 9

LANGPORT BATTLE (10th July 1645). SUMMONS TO WINCHESTER

[Vol. i. p. 230.]

HERE is Oliver's own account of the Battle of Langport, mentioned in our Text:

[1] Word uncertain to the Copyist.

* Original now (May 1846) in the Baptist College, Bristol. [2] v. 36 (1st. Jan. 1646-7).

† Original in the possession of the Rev. W. S. Spring Casborne, of Pakenham, Suffolk; a descendant of the North Family.

"*To* ————————"

"Langport, — July 1645."

DEAR SIR,—I have now a double advantage upon you, through the goodness of God, who still appears for us. And as for us, we have seen good things in this last mercy,—it is not inferior to any we have had;—as followeth.

We were advanced to Long-Sutton, near a very strong place of the Enemy's, called Langport; far from our Garrisons, without much ammunition, in a place extremely wanting in provisions,—the Malignant Clubmen interposing, who are ready to take all advantages against our parties, and would undoubtedly take them against our Army, if they had opportunity.—Goring stood upon the advantage of strong passes, staying until the rest of his recruits came up to his Army, with a resolution not to engage until Grenville and Prince Charles his men were come up to him. We could not well have necessitated him to an Engagement, nor have stayed one day longer without retreating to our ammunition and to conveniency of victual.

In the morning, word was brought us, That the Enemy drew out. He did so, with a resolution to send most of his cannon and baggage to Bridgewater,—which he effected,—but with a resolution not to fight, but, trusting to his ground, thinking he could make away at pleasure.

The pass was strait between him and us; he brought two cannons to secure his, and laid his Musketeers strongly in the hedges. We beat-off his cannon, fell down upon his Musketeers, beat them off from their strength, and, where our Horse could scarcely pass two abreast, I commanded Major Bethel to charge them with two Troops of about one-hundred-and-twenty Horse. Which he performed with the greatest gallantry imaginable;—beat back two bodies of the Enemy's Horse, being Goring's own Brigade; brake them at sword's-point. The Enemy charged him with near 400 fresh Horse; set them all going,—until, oppressed with multitudes, he brake through them, with the loss not of above three or four men. Major Desborow seconded him, with some other of those Troops, which were about three. Bethel faced about; and they both routed, at sword's-point, a great body of the

Enemy's Horse. Which gave such an unexpected terror to the Enemy's Army, that it set them all a-running. Our Foot, in the mean time, coming on bravely, and beating the Enemy from their strength, we presently had the chase to Langport and Bridgewater. We took and killed about 2000,—brake all his Foot. We have taken very many Horses, and considerable Prisoners. What are slain we know not. We have the Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance; Colonel Preston, Colonel Heveningham, Colonel Slingsby, we know of, besides very many other officers of quality. All Major-General Massey's party was with him ("Massey"), seven or eight miles from us,—and about twelve-hundred of our Foot, and three Regiments of our Horse. So that we had but Seven Regiments with us.

Thus you see what the Lord hath wrought for us. Can any creature ascribe anything to itself? Now can we give the glory to God, and desire all may do so, for it is all due unto Him!—Thus you have Long-Sutton mercy added to Naseby mercy. And to see this, is it not to see the face of God! You have heard of Naseby: it was a happy victory. As in this, so in that, God was pleased to use His servants; and if men will be malicious, and swell with envy, we know Who hath said, If they will not see, yet they shall see, and be ashamed for their envy at His people.—I can say this of Naseby, That when I saw the Enemy draw up and march in gallant order towards us, and we a company of poor ignorant men, to seek how to order our battle,—the General having commanded me to order all the Horse,—I could not, riding alone about my business, but smile out to God in praises, in assurance of victory, because God would, by things that are not, bring to nought things that are. Of which I had great assurance; and God did it. O that men would therefore praise the Lord, and declare the wonders that He doth for the children of men!

I cannot write more particulars now. I am going to the rendezvous of all our Horse, three miles from Bridgewater; we march that way.—It is a seasonable mercy. I cannot better tell you than write, That God will go on!—We have taken two guns, three carriages of ammunition. In the chase, the Enemy quitted Langport; when they ran out of one end of the Town, we entered the other. They fired that at which we should chase; which

hindered our pursuit: but we overtook many of them. I believe we got near Fifteen-hundred Horse.

Sir, I beg your prayers. Believe, and you shall be established. I rest, your servant, "OLIVER CROMWELL." *

A couple of months after this battle, Oliver is before Winchester, and makes this Summons:

To the Mayor of the City of Winchester

"Before Winchester," 28th September 1645
5 o'clock at night.

SIR,—I come not to this City but with a full resolution to save it, and the Inhabitants thereof, from ruin.

I have commanded the soldiers, upon pain of death, That no wrong be done:—which I shall strictly observe; only I expect you give me Entrance into the City, without necessitating me to force my way; which if I do, then it will not be in my power to save you or it. I expect your Answer within half an hour; and rest, your humble servant, OLIVER CROMWELL.†

No. 10

ARMY TROUBLES IN 1647

[Vol. i. p. 269.]

THE Vote 'that Field-Marshal Skippon, Lieutenant-General Cromwell, Commissary-General Ireton and Colonel Fleetwood,' all Members of this House, 'shall proceed to their charges in the Army,' and endeavour to quiet all distempers there,—was passed on the 30th of April: day of the Three Troopers and Army-Letter, and directly on the back of that occurrence.[1] They went accordingly, perhaps on the morrow, and proceeded to business; but as nothing specific came of them, or could come, till the 8th of May, that day is taken as the date of the Deputation.—Here are Three Letters from them; one prior and one posterior; which, copied from the Tanner MSS., have got into print, but cannot throw much light on the affair.

* Pamphlet in Lincoln College, Oxford; no. 10, 'Battles and Sieges,"—title of it, 'The Copy of Lieutenant-General Cromwell's Letter to a worthy Member of the House of Commons; published by Authority, London, 1645.'

† *History and Antiquities of Winchester* (London, 1773), ii. 127.

[1] *Commons Journals*, v. 158: see antea, vol. i. p. 268.

1. '"*To the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Commons House: These*"

'"Saffron Walden," 3d May 1647.

'SIR,—We have sent out orders to summon the Officers of the several Regiments to appear before us on Thursday next; to the end we may understand from them the true condition and temper of the Soldiers in relation to the discontents lately represented; and the better to prepare and enable them,—by speaking with them, and acquainting them with your Votes,[1]—to allay any Discontents that may be among the Soldiers.

'We judged this way most likely to be effectual to your service; though it asks some time, by reason of the distance of the quarters. When we shall have anything worthy of your knowledge, we shall represent it;—and in the mean time study to approve ourselves, your most humble servants,

'PH. SKIPPON.
'OLIVER CROMWELL.
'H. IRETON.'[2]

2. '"*To the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Commons House: These*"

'Saffron Walden, 8th May 1647.

'SIR,—According to our orders sent out to the Officers of the Army, many of them appeared at the time appointed. The greatest failing was of Horse Officers; who, by reason of the great distance of their quarters from this place (being some of them above three-score miles off), could not be here: yet there were, accidentally, some of every Regiment except Colonel Whalley's present at our Meeting;—which was upon Friday morning,[3] about ten of the clock.

'After some discourse offered unto them, About the occasion of the Meeting, together with the deep sense the Parliament had of some Discontents which were in the Army, and of our great trouble also that it should be so,—we told them, We were sent down to communicate the House of Commons' Votes unto them; whereby their, "the Parliament's," care of giving the Army satisfaction might appear: desiring them "furthermore" To use their utmost diligence with all good conscience

[1] Votes passed that same 30th of April: That the Soldiers shall have Indemnity; that they shall have Pay,—and in short, Justice (*Commons Journals*, v. 158). 'Thursday next' is the 6th of May.

[2] 'A Letter from Major-General' (elsewhere called Field-Marshal) 'Skippon, Lieutenant-General Cromwell and Commissary-General Ireton, was this day read' (*Commons Journals*, 4th May 1647).

[3] Friday, yesterday; not 'Thursday,' as at first proposed.

and effect, by improving their interests in the Soldiers, *for* their satisfaction; and that they would communicate to their Soldiers the Votes, together with such informations as they received then from us, to the end their distemper might be allayed.—After this had been said, and a Copy of the Votes delivered to the Chief Officer of every respective Regiment, to be communicated as aforesaid, we desired them To give us a speedy account of the success of their endeavours; and if in anything they needed our advice or assistance for furthering the work, we should be ready here at Saffron Walden to give it them, upon notice from them.

'We cannot give you a full and punctual account of the particular distempers, with the grounds of them: because the Officers were desirous to be spared therein by us, until they might make a farther inquiry amongst the Soldiers, and see what effect your Votes and their endeavours might have with them. We desire as speedy an account of this business as might well be; but, upon the desire of the Officers, thought it necessary for the service to give them until Saturday next[1] to bring us an account of their business, by reason the Regiments were so far distant.

'As anything falls out worthy of your knowledge, we shall represent it; and in the mean time study to approve ourselves, your most humble servants,

'Ph. Skippon.
'Oliver Cromwell.
'H. Ireton.
'Charles Fleetwood.'[2]

3. '"*To the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Commons House: These*"

'Walden, 17th May 1647.

'Sir,—We having made some progress in the Business you commanded us upon, we are bold to give you this account. Which, although it come not with that expedition you may expect and your other affairs require, yet we hope you will be pleased to excuse us with the weight of the Affair: in comparison whereof nothing that ever yet we undertook was, at least to our apprehension, equal; and wherein, whatever the issue prove, our greatest comfort is, That our consciences bear us witness we have, according to our abilities, endeavoured faithfully to serve you and the Kingdom.

'The Officers repaired to us at Saffron Walden upon Saturday last, according to appointment, to give us a return of[3] what they had in charge

[1] This day week; the 15th.

[2] 'Letter from the General Officers,' 'from Walden, of 8th Maii 1647, was this day read' (*Commons Journals*, Tuesday 11th May 1647). The Letter seems to be of Cromwell's writing.

[3] Means 'response to.'

from us at our last Meeting; which was, To read your Votes to the Soldiers under their respective commands for their satisfaction, and to improve their interest faithfully and honestly with them to that end; and "then" to give us a perfect account of the effect of their endeavours, and a true representation of the temper of the Army.

'At this Meeting we received what they had to offer to us. Which they delivered to us in writing, by the hands of some chosen by the rest of the Officers then present, and in the name of the rest of the Officers and of the Soldiers under their commands. Which was not done till Sunday in the evening. At which time, and likewise before upon Saturday, we acquainted them all with a Letter from the Earl of Manchester, expressing that an Act of Indemnity, large and full, had passed the House of Commons;[1] and that two weeks' pay more was voted to those that were disbanded, as also to them that undertook the service of Ireland. And, thinking fit to dismiss the Officers to their several commands, —all but some that were to stay here about farther business,—we gave them in charge To communicate these last Votes to their Soldiers, and to improve their utmost diligence and interest for their best satisfaction.

'We must acknowledge, we found the Army under a deep sense of some sufferings, and the common Soldiers much unsettled; whereof, that which we have to represent to you will give you a more perfect view. Which, because it consists of many papers, and needs some more method in the representation of them to you than can be done by letter, and forasmuch as we were sent down by you to our several charges *to do our best to keep the Soldiers in order*,—we are not well satisfied, any of us, to leave the place nor duty you sent us to, until we have the signification of your pleasure to us. To which we shall most readily conform; and rest your most humble servants,

'PH. SKIPPON.
'OLIVER CROMWELL.
'H. IRETON.
'CHARLES FLEETWOOD.'[2]

No. 11

WELSH DISTURBANCES IN 1648

[Vol. i. p. 325.]

1. Some charge of Welsh misbehaviour, perhaps treachery, in the late May revolt; charge which, if founded, ought to be made good against 'Edwards'! Colonel Hughes has been Governor of Chepstow, from the

[1] *Commons Journals*, v. 174 (14th May 1647). [2] Tanner MSS. (in Cary, i. 205-16).

time when it was first taken, in autumn 1645;[1] and, we may infer, has returned to his post since Ewers (25th May 1648) retook the Castle. Of Edwards, and his misdeeds, and his accusers, no other clear trace has occurred to me. But in Moyne's Court, Monmouthshire, the seat of this Colonel Thomas Hughes, the following old Note had turned up, and was printed in 1791.

"To Colonel Hughes, Chepstow Castle"

"Before Pembroke," 26th June 1648.

COLONEL HUGHES,—It's of absolute necessity that Collington and Ashe do attend the Council of War, to make good what they say of Edwards. Let it be your especial care to get them into Monmouthshire thereunto. What Mr. Herbert and Mrs. Cradock hath (*sic*) promised to them in point of indemnity, I will endeavour to have it performed; and I desire you to certify as much to them for their encouragement. I pray do this speedily after receipt hereof, and I shall remain your servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

2. A short Letter to the Committee of Carmarthen. The ancient 'Iron-furnaces' at Carmarthen, the 'Committee' sitting there, the 'Paper' or Proclamation from the Leaguer; these, and the other points of this Letter, will be intelligible to the reader.

For my noble Friends the Committee of Carmarthen: These

The Leaguer before Pembroke, 9th June 1648.

GENTLEMEN,—I have sent this Bearer to you to desire we may have your furtherance and assistance in procuring some necessaries to be cast in the Iron-furnaces in your county of Carmarthen, which will the better enable us to reduce the Town and Castle of Pembroke.

The principal things are: Shells for our Mortarpiece; the depth of them we desire may be of fourteen inches and three-quarters of an inch. That which I desire at your hands is, To cause the service to be performed, and that with all possible expedition; that so, if it be the will of God, the service being done, these poor wasted countries may be freed from the burden of the Army.

[1] *Commons Journals*, iv. 321 and v. 115.

* The *Topographer*, edited by Sir E. Brydges (London March 1791), iv. 125-9.

In the next place, we desire some D cannon-shot, and some culverin-shot, may with all possible speed be cast for us, and hasted to us also.

We give you thanks for your care in helping us with bread and [*word lost*]. You do herein a very special service to the State; and I do most earnestly desire you to continue herein, according to our desire in the late Letters. I desire that copies of this Paper[1] may be published throughout your county, and the effects thereof observed; for the ease of the county, and to avoid the wronging of the country men.

Not doubting the continuance of your care to give assistance to the Public in the services we have in hand, I rest, your affectionate servant, O. CROMWELL.*

3. Letter found, some years ago, among the lumber of 'St. Jillian's' (Julian's) 'old Castle of the Lords Herbert in Monmouthshire': Address gone, and not conjecturable with any certainty; Letter evidently genuine, —and still hanging curiously as postscript to Letter LX. (vol. i. p. 323) of date the day before.

"For the Honourable Richard Herbert, at St. Jillian's: These"

Leaguer before Pembroke, 18th June 1648.

SIR,—I would have you to be informed that I have good report of your secret practices against the public advantage; by means whereof that arch-traitor Sir Nicholas Kemeys, with his Horse, did surprise the Castle of Chepstow: but we have notable discovery, from the papers taken by Colonel Ewer[2] on recovering the Castle, That Sir Trevor Williams of Llangibby was the Malignant who set on foot the plot.

Now I give you this plain warning by Captain Nicholas and Captain Burges, That if you harbour or conceal either of the parties or abet their misdoings, I will cause your treasonable nest to be burnt about your ears. OLIVER CROMWELL.†

[1] Some *Proclamation* seemingly,—of the conceivable sort.

* Brayley's *Graphic and Historical Illustrator* (London, 1834), p. 355. 'Original in the hands of Richard Williams, Esq., Stapleton Hall, Hornsey.'

[2] 'Hewer' he spells.

† '*Monmouthshire Merlin*' (Welsh Newspaper) 'for September 1845.' Inserted there, it would appear, along with other antiquarian fractions, in very ignorant condition, by one Mr. W. M. Townshend, an Attorney in Newport, who is now (1858) dead some years since.—'St.

4. In the Town Archives of Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire, are the following three Papers; footmarks, still visible, of Oliver's transit through those parts. Twelfth July, date of the first Paper, is the morrow after Pembroke surrendered.

(*a.*) '*To the Mayor and Aldermen of Haverfordwest*

'We being authorised by Parliament to view and consider what Garrisons and Places of Strength are fit to be demolished; and we finding that the Castle of Haverford is not tenable for the services of the State, and yet that it may be possessed by ill-affected persons, to the prejudice of the peace of these parts: These are to authorise you to summon-in the Hundred of Roose and the inhabitants of the Town and County of Haverfordwest; and that they forthwith demolish the several walls and towers of the said Castle; so as that the said Castle may not be possessed by the Enemy, to the endangering of the peace of these parts.

'Given under our hands this 12th of July 1648.

'ROGER LORT. JOHN LORT.
'SAMSON LORT. THOMAS BARLOWE.

'We expect an account of your proceedings, with effect, in this business, by Saturday being the 15th of July instant.'

To which Oliver appends:

If a speedy course be not taken to fulfil the commands of this Warrant, I shall be necessitated to consider of settling a Garrison.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

(*b.*) '*For the Honourable Lieutenant-General Cromwell, at Pembroke*

'Haverfordwest, 13th July 1648.

'HONOURED SIR,—We received an Order from your Honour and the Committee, for the demolishing of the Castle of Haverfordwest. According to which we have this day set some workmen about it: but we find the work so difficult to be brought about without powder to blow it by, that it will exhaust an "huge" sum of money, and will not in a long time be effected.

'Wherefore we become suitors of your Honour that there may a com-

Jillian's,' now a farmhouse near Caerleon, Monmouthshire, was the mansion of the Lords Herbert, of the celebrated Lord Edward of Cherbury for one,—to whom (or to his successor, as the Attorney thinks) this Note was addressed. Note picked up in converting the old Manor-house into a Farmhouse (which it still is), and published, along with other antiquarian tagraggeries in a very dim and helpless manner, by the Attorney who had been in charge of that operation.

petent quantity of Powder be spared out of the Ships, for the speedy effecting the work, and the County paying for the same. And we likewise desire that your Honour and the Committee be pleased that the whole County may join with us in the work; and that an Order be considered for the levying of a competent sum of money on the several Hundreds of the County, for the paying for the Powder, and defraying the rest of the charge.

'Thus being over-bold to be troublesome to your Honour; desiring to know your Honour's resolves,—we rest, your Honour's humble servants,

'JOHN PRYNNE, *Mayor*.

'JENKIN HOWELL. WILLIAM WILLIAMS.
'WILLIAM BOWEN. JOB DAVIES.
'ROGER BEVANS. ETHELDRED DAVIES.'

Gunpowder cannot be spared on light occasion; and 'levying of competent sums' have had their difficulties before now; here is the handier method:

(c.) *To the Mayor and Aldermen of Haverfordwest*

Whereas upon view and consideration with Mr. Roger Lort, Mr. Samson Lort, and the Mayor and Aldermen of Haverfordwest, it is thought fit, for the preserving of the peace of this County, that the Castle of Haverfordwest should be speedily demolished:

These are to authorise you to call unto your assistance, in the performance of this exercise (?), the Inhabitants of the Hundreds of Dungleddy, Dewisland, Kemis, Roose and Kilgerran; who are hereby required to give you assistance.

Given under our hands this 14th of July 1648.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

["and the two Lorts in a corner of the Paper"].*

No. 12

LETTER TO THE DERBY-HOUSE COMMITTEE AFTER PRESTON BATTLE

[Vol. i. p. 355.]

SAME day with that Letter in the Text, urging the York Committee to help in pursuit of Duke Hamilton, Oliver writes home for Supplies.

* Printed in *Welshman* Newspaper (Carmarthen, 29th Dec. 1848).

To the Right Honourable the Committee of Lords and Commons, at Derby House: These. Haste, haste

Wigan, 23d Aug. 1648.

My Lords and Gentlemen,—I did not (being straitened with time) send you an Account of the great blessing of God upon your Army:—I trust it is satisfactory to your Lordships that the House had it so fully presented to them.[1]

My Lords, it cannot be imagined that so great a business as this could be without some loss;—although I "confess" very little compared with the weightiness of the Engagement; there being on our part not an Hundred Slain, yet many Wounded. And to our little it is a real weakening, for indeed we are but a handful. I submit to your Lordships, whether you will think fit or no To recruit our Loss; we having but Five poor Regiments of foot, and our horse so exceedingly battered as I never saw them in all my life.

It is not to be doubted but your Enemy's designs are deep: this Blow will make them very angry: the principles they went on were such as should a little awaken Englishmen; for I have heard it from very good hands of their own party, that the Duke made this the argument to his Army, That the Lands of the Country and—[*illegible the next line or two, from ruin of the paper; the words lost mean clearly, 'That the Scots were to share our lands among them, and come to inhabit the conquered country': a very high figure of rumour indeed!*]—which accordingly is done in part, there being a Transplantation of many women and children and of whole families in Westmoreland and Cumberland, as I am credibly informed [*for the moment!*]—Much more might be said; but I forbear. I offer it to your Lordships that Money may be "sent" to pay the foot and horse to some equality. Some of those that are here seventy days before I marched from Windsor into Wales have not had any pay; and amongst the horse, my own Regiment and some others are much behind. I wish your Lordships may manage it for the best advantage, and not be wanting to yourselves n what is necessary: which is the end of my offering these things to you. My Lords, Money is not for Contingencies so as

[1] In Letter LXIV. (supra, vol. i. pp. 344-352.)

were to be wished; we have very many things to do which might be better done if we had wherewithal. Our Foot want Clothes, Shoes and Stockings; these ways and weather have shattered them all to pieces: that which was the great blow to our Horse was (beside the weather and incessant marches) our March ten miles to fight with the Enemy, and a Fight continuing four hours in as dirty a place as ever I saw horse stand in; and, upon the matter, the continuance of this Fight two days more together in our following the Enemy, and lying close by him in the mire—[*moths again and mildew* . . . until at length we broke him at a near . . . a great party of our horse having . . . miles towards Lancaster; who came up . . . to us, and were with us in all the Action].—These things I thought fit to intimate, not knowing what is fit to ask, because I know not how your Affairs stand, nor what you can supply.

I have sent Major-General Lambert, upon the day I received the Enclosed, with above Two-Thousand horse and dragoons and about Fourteen-Thousand foot in prosecution of the Duke and the Nobility of Scotland with him; who will, I doubt not, have the blessing of God with him in the business. But indeed his horse are exceeding weak and weary.—I have sent to Yorkshire and to my Lord Grey to alarm all parts to a prosecution: and if they be not wanting to the work, I see not how many can escape. I am marched myself back to Preston;—and so on towards Monro or otherwise, as God shall direct.

As things fall out, I shall represent them to you; and rest, my Lords and Gentlemen, your most humble "servant,"

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

No. 13

LETTER TO THE DERBY-HOUSE COMMITTEE IN 1648

[Vol. i. p. 378.]

RECAPITULATING what is already known in the Text; finds its place here.

* Tanner MSS. lvii. (1.) 229. Original, signed inside and out by Cromwell: much injured by mildew and moths.

To the Right Honourable the Committee of Lords and Commons, at Derby House

Norham, 20th Sept. 1648.

My Lords and Gentlemen,—I did, from Alnwick, write to Sir William Armyn [1] an account of our condition; and recommended to him divers particular considerations about your affairs here in the North,—with a desire of particular things to be done by your Lordships' appointment, in order to the carrying-on of your affairs. I send you here a copy of the Summons that was sent to Berwick [2] when I was come as far as Alnwick; as also of a Letter written to the Committee of Estates of Scotland: [3]—I mean those who we did presume were convened as Estates, and were the men that managed the business of the War. But there being, as I learned since, none such; the Earl of Roxburgh and some others having deserted, so that they are not able to make a Committee;—I believe the said Letter is suppressed,[4] and retained in the hands of Colonel Bright and Mr. William Rowe. For whom we "had" obtained a safe Convoy to go to the Estates of that Kingdom with our said Letter, the Governor of Berwick's Answer to our Summons leading us thereunto. By advantage whereof we did instruct them to give all assurances to the Marquis of Argyle and the Honest Party in Scotland,—who we heard were gathered together in a considerable Body about Edinburgh, to make opposition to the Earl of Lanark, Monro, and their Armies,—of our good affection to them. Wherewith they went the 16th of this month.

Upon the 17th of this month Sir Andrew Ker and Major Strahan, with divers other Scots Gentlemen, brought me this enclosed Letter, signed by the Lord Chancellor of Scotland, as your Lordships will see. They also showed me their Instructions, and a Paper containing the matter of their Treaty with Lanark and Monro; as also an Expostulation upon Lanark's breach with

[1] Original Member for Grantham; one of the Committee, and from of old busy in those International concerns.

[2] Letter LXX. (vol. i. p. 366.) [3] Letter LXXI. (vol i. p. 368.)

[4] Not 'suppressed'; though it cannot be received except unofficially (vol. i. p. 370).

them,—in falling upon Argyle and his men, contrary to agreement, wherein the Marquis hardly escaped, they having hold of him, but Seven-hundred of his men were killed and taken.[1] These Papers I also send here enclosed to your Lordships.

So soon as those Gentlemen came to me, I called a Council of War; the result whereof was the Letter directed to the Lord Chancellor;[2] a Copy whereof your Lordships have here enclosed. Which I delivered to Sir Andrew Ker and Major Strahan; with which they returned upon the 18th, being the next day.

Upon private discourse with these Gentlemen, I do find the condition of their Affairs and their Army to be thus: The Earl of Lanark, the Earl of Crawford and Lindsay, Monro, and their Army, hearing of our advance, and understanding the condition and endeavours of their Adversaries,—marched with all speed to get possession of Stirling-Bridge; that so they might have three parts in four of Scotland at their backs, to raise men, and to enable themselves to carry on their designs. They were about 5,000 Foot, and 2,500 Horse. The Earl of Leven, who is chosen General; the Marquis of Argyle, with the Honest Lords and Gentlemen, David Lesley being the Lieutenant-General: "these," having about 7,000 Foot, but very weak in Horse,—lie about six miles this side the Enemy. I hear that their infantry consists of men who come to them out of conscience; and are generally of the Godly People of that Nation, which they express by their piety and devotion in their quarters; and indeed I hear they are a very godly and honest body of men.

I think it is not unknown to your Lordships what directions I have received from you for the prosecution of our late Victory. Whereof I shall be bold to remember a clause of your Letter; which was, 'That I should prosecute the remaining Party in the North, and not leave any of them, wheresoever they go, to be a beginning of a new Army; nor cease to pursue the Victory till I finish and fully complete it with the rendition of those towns of Berwick and Carlisle, which most unjustly, and against all obligations, and the Treaties then in force, they surprised and garrisoned against us.'

[1] Bishop Guthry's *Memoirs*.

[2] Letter LXXIII. (vol. i. p. 371.)

In order whereunto, I marched to the Borders of Scotland: where I found the whole Country so harassed and impoverished by Monro and the Forces with him, that the Country was no way able to bear us on the English side; but we must necessarily have ruined both your Army and the Subjects of this Kingdom who would not have had bread for a day if we had continued among them. In prosecution of your Orders, and in answer to the necessities of your friends in Scotland, and their desires; and considering the necessity of marching into Scotland, to prevent the Governor of Berwick from putting of provisions into his Garrisons on the Scots side, whereof he is at present in some want, as we are informed,—I marched a good part of the Army over Tweed yesterday about noon, the residue being to come after as conveniently as we may.

Thus have I given your Lordships an account of our present condition and engagement. And having done so, I must discharge my duty in remembering to your Lordships the Desires formerly expressed in my Letters to Sir William Armyn and Sir John Evelyn, for supplies; and in particular for that of Shipping to be upon these Coasts, who may furnish us with Ammunition or other necessaries wheresoever God shall lead us; there being extreme difficulty to supply us by land, without great and strong convoys, which will weary-out and destroy our Horse, and cannot well come to us if the Tweed be up, without going very far about.

Having laid these things before you, I rest, your Lordships' most humble servant, OLIVER CROMWELL.

P.S. Whilst we are here, I wish there be no neglect of the Business in Cumberland and Westmoreland. I have sent Orders both into Lancashire and to the Horse before Pontefract. I should be glad your Lordships would second them, and those other considerations expressed in my Desires to Sir William Armyn thereabouts.*

* Old Pamphlet (in *Parliamentary History*, xvii 481).

No. 14

Letter on Behalf of Young Cholmely

[Vol. i. p. 390.]

Written on the march from Carlisle to Pontefract.

To the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the House of Commons: These

Boroughbridge, 28th October 1648.

Sir,—I do not often trouble you in particular businesses; but I shall be bold now, upon the desire of a worthy Gentleman, Lieutenant-Colonel Cholmely, to entreat your favour in his behalf.

The case stands thus. His son Major Cholmely, who was bold in the Fight against the Scots at Berwick,[1] was Custom-master at Carlisle;—the Gentleman "had" merited well from you. Since his death, his aged Father, having lost this his Eldest Son in your service, did resolve to use his endeavours to procure the place for a Younger Son, who had likewise been in your service. And resolving to obtain my Letter to some friends about it, did acquaint an *undertenant* of the place for his Son with this his purpose To come to me to the borders of Scotland to obtain the said Letter;—which the said servant "or undertenant" did say, Was very well.

And when the said Lieutenant-Colonel was come for my Letter, this tenant immediately hastens away to London; where he, in a very circumventing and deceitful way, prefers a Petition to the House of Commons; gets a reference to the Committee of the Navy; who approve of the said man, "the undertenant," by the mediation of some gentlemen:—but I hear there is a stop of it in the House.

My humble suit to you is, That if Colonel Morgan do wait upon you about this business,—I having given you this true information of the state of it, as I have received it,—you would be pleased to further his desire concerning Lieutenant-Colonel Cholmely's youngest Son, that *he* may have the place conferred

[1] Against Monro, I suppose, when he ended his maraudings in that quarter (vol. i. p. 362).

upon him; and that you would acquaint some of my friends herewith.

By which you will very much oblige, your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

No. 15

CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE MAYOR OF WATERFORD

[Vol. ii. p. 99.]

PRESERVED in the anonymous Fragment of a Narrative, more than once referred to, are these Letters and Replies:

LETTER 1. *To the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Waterford*

Kilbarry, near Waterford, 21st Nov. 1649.

GENTLEMEN,—I have received information that you hitherto refuse a Garrison of the Enemy to be imposed upon you; as also that some Factions in the Town are very active still, notwithstanding your refusal, to persuade you to the contrary.

Being come into these parts, not to destroy people and places, but to save them, that men may live comfortably and happily by their trade, if the fault be not in themselves; and purposing also, by God's assistance, to reduce this City of Waterford to its due obedience, as He shall dispose the matter, by Force, or by Agreement with you upon Terms wherein your own good and happiness, and that of your wives, children and families may consist, notwithstanding "what" some busy-headed persons may pretend to the contrary; "and" knowing that if after all this you shall receive a Garrison, it will probably put you out of a capacity to make any such Accord for yourselves, which was the cause of the ruin of the Town and People of Wexford, —I thought fit to lay these things before you; leaving you to use your own judgment therein.

And if any shall have so much power upon you as to persuade you that these are the counsels of an enemy, I doubt it will hardly prove, in the end, that *they* gave you better. You did once live flourishingly under the power [*sic*] and in commerce with England.

* Tanner, MSS. (in Cary), ii. 46).

It shall be your own faults if you do not so again. I send these intimations timeously to you: weigh them well; it so behoves you. I rest, your loving friend, OLIVER CROMWELL.

REPLY 1. *'For General Cromwell, General of the Parliament Forces in Ireland*

'Waterford, 23d November 1649.

'MY LORD,—Your Letter of the 21st, directed to me and my Aldermen, we have, by your Trumpet, received. Your Lordship's advice, as we do all others, we weigh with the condition of our safety; and so far shall make use thereof as it contributes to the same.

'For your intentions of reducing this City, by Force or Agreement:—as we will by all possible means endeavour our natural defence against the first, so happily will we not be averse to the latter,—if we shall find it not dishonourable nor destructive. And for that purpose "we" do desire your Lordship will grant us a Cessation, for fifteen days, from all acts of hostility; and send us Safe-conducts, with blanks for the men we shall employ, to treat with your Lordship; and in the interim bring your Army no nearer this City than now it is.

'We have learned not to slight advice, if we find it wholesome, even from an enemy's hand; nor to deny him such thanks as it merits. And if your Lordship should deny us the time we look for, we doubt not,—with the men we have already in Town, though we should receive no more,—to make good this Place, till the Power of the Kingdom relieves us.

'To signify which to your Lordship, the Council and Commons have laid their commands on me, my Lord, your very loving friend,

'JOHN LYVETT, Mayor of Waterford.'

LETTER 2. *For the Mayor, Aldermen, or other Governor or Governors of the City of Waterford*

From my Camp before Waterford,
24th November 1649.

GENTLEMEN,—I expected to have heard from you before this, by my Trumpet; but he not coming to me, I thought fit to send, That I might have an account given me, how you have disposed of him. And to save farther trouble, I have thought fit—

Hereby to summon you To surrender the City and Fort into my hands, to the use of the State of England.

I expect to receive your answer to these things; and rest, your servant, OLIVER CROMWELL.

REPLY 2. *'For the Lieutenant-General Cromwell*

'Waterford, 24th November 1649.

'MY LORD,—Your Letter of the 24th I have received even now; in which you desire an account of your Lordship's Trumpeter, sent with a former Letter to us; and summon us to deliver your Lordship this City and Fort.

'Your Lordship's former Letter by your Trumpeter we have answered yesterday morning; and do doubt, by the Trumpeter's not coming to you, he might have suffered some mischance by going the County-of-Kilkenny way. We therefore now send you a Copy of that Answer;[1] to which we desire your Lordship's resolution. Before we receive which, we cannot make farther answer to the rest of your Letter.

'We therefore desire you will despatch the Safe-conduct desired, and forbear acts of hostility during the Treaty;—and you shall be very soon attended by Commissioners from, my Lord, your Lordship's servant,

'JOHN LYVETT, Mayor of Waterford.'

LETTER 3. *To the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Waterford*

"Before Waterford," 24th Nov. 1649.

SIRS,—My first Trumpet not being yet come to me, makes me suspect that, as you say, he has suffered some mischance going by the way of the County of Kilkenny.

If I had received your Letter sooner, I should nevertheless, by the help of God, have marched up to this place as I have done. And as for your desire of a Treaty, I am more willing to that way, for the prevention of blood and ruin, than to the other of Force;—although if necessitated thereunto, you and we are under the overruling Power of God, who will dispose of you and us as He pleaseth.

As to a Cessation for Fifteen Days, I shall not agree thereunto; because a far shorter time may bring this Business to a conclusion as well. But for Four or Five Days I am content that there be a Cessation of all acts of hostility betwixt your City and this Army:—provided you give me assurance That, in the mean time, no soldiers not now in your City be received into it, during the Cessation, nor for Twenty-four hours after.

I expect to have your present answer hereto: because, if this

[1] Reply 1; already given.

be agreed-to, I shall forbear any nearer approach during the said Cessation. Your servant, OLIVER CROMWELL.

I have by this Bearer returned a Safe-convoy, as you desire, for what Commissioners you think fit to send out to me.*

No. 16

EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS: RENEGADO WOGAN

[Vol. ii. p. 105.]

THE Narrative Fragment above cited has these words, in reference to the affair at Passage and its consequences: 'At that time, there being one Captain Caufield a prisoner at Clonmel, a stranger to the General, but being a prisoner on an English account, the Army concerned themselves for him, and at a Council of War certain Votes were passed,' which we shall soon read:

'*For Lieutenant-General Farrell, Governor of Clonmel*

"Cork, 4th January 1649."

'At the Council of War held at the City of Cork, the Fourth day of January, Anno Domini 1649, whereat the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, the Lord President of Munster,[1] Sir Hardress Waller, knight, and divers other chief Officers of the Army were present, it was resolved as followeth:

'1. That a Letter be sent, by Lieutenant-General Farrell's Trumpet, to let him know, That for every private Foot-soldier of our party, prisoner with him, whom he shall release, he shall have so many of his private soldiers, prisoners with us, released for them; and for every Trooper of ours which he shall release, he shall have Two private Foot-soldiers released for him.

'2. That the Lord-Lieutenant is ready to release Officers of like quality for such Officers of ours as are in their power; and that he will deliver a Major of Foot for a Captain of Horse, and two Captains of Foot for a Captain of Horse; and so proportionably.

'3. Or that he will deliver Major-General Butler, the Earl of Ormond's Brother, for those Officers of ours now in their custody.'

* Fragment of Narrative: in Ayscough MSS. no. 4769, p. 95 et seqq.

[1] Ireton.

Sir,—Having lately received an advertisement, that some of the principal Officers of the Irish Army did send menacing Orders to the Governor of Clonmel, to be communicated to the Lord Broghil, That if we did put to death Colonel Wogan, they were ready to put Captain Caufield to death,—I thought fit to offer to you the equal Exchanges before mentioned; leaving you to your election. Which when you perform, there shall be just and honest performance on my part. And withal to let you know, That if any shall think to put such conditions on me that I may not execute a Person so obnoxious as Wogan,—who did not only betray his trust in England, but counterfeited the General's hand, thereby to carry his men (whom he had seduced) into a Foreign Nation,[1] to invade England, under whom he had taken pay, and from whose service he was not discharged; and with the said Nation did invade England; and hath since, contrary to the said trust, taken up arms here:—That "then, I say," as I am willing to the Exchanges aforesaid; so, "if" that equality be denied me, I would that all concerned should understand, That I am resolved to deal with Colonel Wogan as I shall see cause, and be satisfied in my conscience and judgment to do. And if anything thereupon shall be done to Captain Caufield as is menaced, I think fit to let you know, That I shall, as God shall enable me, put all those that are with me at mercy for life, into the same condition. Your servant,

Oliver Cromwell.*

No. 17

Ireland: Arrangements for the Administration of Justice there

[Vol. ii. p. 106.]

For my very worthy Friend John Sadler, Esq., one of the Masters of the Chancery in England: These

Cork, 31st December 1649.

Sir,—To put a business of weight suddenly to your consideration may perhaps beget so much prejudice as may cause you either not to think of it at all, or to incline to the worser part when you

[1] Scotland: to join Hamilton and his *Engagement*.

* Fragment of Narrative: in Ayscough MSS. no. 4769, ubi supra.

resolve. The thing I have to offer hath been thought upon by us, as you will perceive by the reasons wherewith we enforce it; and we do willingly tender it to you; desiring God, not you, may give us the answer.

That a Divine Presence hath gone along with us in the late great transactions in this Nation, I believe most good men are sensible of, and thankful to God for; and are persuaded that He hath a farther end; and that as by this dispensation He hath manifested His severity and justice, so there will be a time wherein He will manifest grace and mercy, in which He so much delights. To us who are employed as instruments in this work the contentment that appears is, That we are doing our Master's work; that we have His presence and blessing with us;—and that we live in hope to see Him cause wars to cease, and bringing in that Kingdom of Glory and Peace which He hath promised. This being so, as the hope thereof occasions our comfort, so the seeing some way made already cannot but "raise" hope that goodness and mercy intends to visit this poor Island. Therefore in what we may as poor instruments, "we" cannot but be endeavouring to answer the mind of God as any opportunity offers itself.

First let me tell you, in divers places where we come, we find the people very greedy after the Word, and flocking to Christian meetings; much of that prejudice that lies upon poor people in England being a stranger to their minds. And truly we have hoped much of it is done in simplicity; and I mind you the rather of this because it is a sweet symptom, if not an earnest, of the good we expect.

In the next place, our condition was such at our arrival here,—by reason of the War, and prevalency of the Enemy,—that there was a dissolution of the whole frame of Government; there being no visible authority residing in persons intrusted to act according to the forms of law, except in two corporations [*Dublin and Derry at our arrival*], in this whole Land. And although it hath pleased God to give us much territory, yet how to fall suddenly into that way again, I see not; nor is it for the present practicable. Wherefore I am constrained, of my own authority, to issue out Commissions to persons to hear and determine the present controversies that do arise, as they may.

Sir, it seems to me we have a great opportunity to set up, until the Parliament shall otherwise determine, a way of doing justice amongst these poor people, which, for the uprightness and cheapness of it, may exceedingly gain upon them,—who have been accustomed to as much injustice, tyranny and oppression from their landlords, the great men, and those that should have done them right, as (I believe) any people in that which we call Christendom. And indeed "they" are accounted the bribing'st [*so to speak!*] people that are; they having being inured thereto. Sir, if justice were freely and impartially administered here, the foregoing darkness and corruption would make it look so much the more glorious and beautiful; and draw more hearts after it! —I am loath to write what the consequences might be, or what may be said upon this subject;—and therefore I shall let you know my desire in a word.

There uses to be a Chief-Justice in the Province of Munster, who having some others with him in assistance uses to hear and determine Causes depending there: you are desired by me to accept of that employment. I do believe that nothing will suit your mind better than having a standing Salary for the same; that so you may not be troubled within common allowances, which have been to others (I doubt) but a colour to their covetous practices. I dare assure you "of" £1,000 a-year, half-yearly, to be paid by even parts, as your allowance;—and, although this be more than hath usually been allowed, yet shall we have the wherewith readily to make performance, if you accept.

I know not how far this desire of mine will be interpreted by you as a call: but sure I am I have not done anything with a clearer breast, nor wherein I do more approve my heart to the Lord and His people in sincerity and uprightness;—the Lord direct you what to do. I desire a few things of you: let my Letter be as little seen as you may;—you know what constructions are usually put upon some men's actings; and (were it fit to be committed to paper) would "be" if I should say That this business, by the blessing of God, might be so managed as might abate much superfluity. I desire you not to discourse of the allowance but to some choice friends. Next I could desire, if you have any acquaintance with Mr. Graves the Lawyer, you would move him to the accept-

ance of a place here, which should be honourable, and not to his outward disadvantage. And any other godly and able man you know of. Let me have your mind so soon as conveniently you may; and whether you have tried any as is desired, and whom, and what return they make.

Desiring your prayers, I rest, your affectionate friend and servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Sadler did not go; John Cooke, Advocate famed in the King's trial, went. Of Graves I know nothing. Sadler has left some Books; indicating a strange corner of dreamy imaginativeness in his otherwise solid, lucid and pious mind. A man much esteemed by Hartlib, Milton's friend, and by the world legal and other. He continued one of the Masters in Oliver's new Chancery, when the number was reduced to six.

No. 18

IRELAND: OPERATIONS IN TIPPERARY

[Vol. ii. p. 137.]

COLONEL PHAYR is in Cork, 'with near Five-hundred foot,' since November last; Broghil, Fenton, and their relation to him, were also indicated in the Text.[1]

For Colonel Phayr, Governor of Cork: These. Haste, haste

Fethard, 9th February 1649.

SIR,—It hath pleased God to be very gracious to us hitherto, in the possessing of Cashel, Fethard and Roghill Castle, without any blood. Callan cost us at least four or five men; but we are possessed of it also, and of divers other places of good importance. We are in the very bowels of Tipperary; and hope, will lie advantageously (by the blessing of God) for farther attempts.

Many places take up our men: wherefore I must needs be earnest with you to spare us what you can. If you can send Two Companies more of your Regiment to Mallow,[2] do it. If not, One at the least; that so my Lord Broghil may spare us Two or Three

* *General Dictionary* (by Birch, Bernard, etc., London, 1739), vol. ix. pp. 19-20, § *Sadler* (materials furnished by 'Thos. Sadler, Deputy Clerk of the Pells,' a descendant of this Sadler's).

[1] Letters CXIV. CXV. vol. ii. pp. 89, 90.

[2] 'Mayallo' in orig.

of Colonel Ewers's, to meet him with the rest of his[1] Regiment at Fermoy.

Give Colonel Ewers what assistance you can in the Business I have sent to him about. Salute all my Friends with you. My service to Sir William Fenton. Pray for us. I rest, your very loving friend, OLIVER CROMWELL.

"P.S." Sir, if you think that we draw you too low in men whilst we are inactive,—I presume you are in no danger; however, I desire you would make this use of it, To rid the Town of Cork of suspicious and ill-affected persons as fast as you can. And herein deal with effect.*

No. 19

HASELRIG AND DUNBAR BATTLE

[Vol. ii. p. 200.]

HERE, by the kindness of R. Ormston, Esq., Newcastle-on-Tyne, are now (for our *Third* and all other *Editions*) the Letters themselves. This Gentleman, Grandson of the 'Steward of the Haselrigs' mentioned in vol. ii. p. 217, possesses all the Four Cromwell Letters alluded to by Brand; and has now (May 1847) beneficently furnished an exact copy of them, privately printed. Letter CXXXIX. alone is autograph; the other Three are in a Clerk's hand. Letter CXXXIX., Letter CXLI., these and the Two which follow here, it appears, Mr. O.'s Grandfather 'begged from the fire, on a day when much destruction of old Letters and Waste Papers was going on at Nosely Hall,'—Letter CXXXIX. and all England are somewhat obliged to him! Here are the other Two:

1. *For the Honourable Sir Arthur Haselrig, Governor of Newcastle: These*

Dunbar, 5th September 1650.

SIR,—After much deliberation, we can find no way how to dispose of these Prisoners that will be consisting with these two ends (to wit, the not losing them and the not starving them, neither of

[1] i.e Colonel Ewers's.

* *Gentleman's Magazine* for March 1843, p. 266. Endorsed, by Phayr, 'The Lo. Leu^t^ Letter to mee the ninth of Feb^i^ 1649; About sending men.' By another hand there is also written on the outside 'Mallo posest,'—meaning, probably for Phayr's information, *Mallow possessed* (got, laid hold of).

which would we willingly incur) but by sending them into England; where the Council of State may exercise their wisdom and better judgment in so dispersing and disposing of them, as that they may not suddenly return to your prejudice.

We have despatched away near 5,000 poor wretches of them; very many of which, it 's probable, will die of their wounds, or be rendered unserviceable for time to come by reason thereof. I have written to the Council of State, desiring them to direct how they shall be disposed of: and I make no question but you will hasten the Prisoners up Southwards, and second my desires with your own to the Council. I know you are a man of business. This, not being every-day's work, will willingly be performed by you; especially considering you have the commands of your Superior.

Sir, I judge it exceeding necessary you send us up what Horse and Foot you can, with all possible expedition; especially considering that indeed our men fall very sick; and if the Lord shall please to enable us effectually to prosecute this Business, to the which He hath opened so gracious a way, no man knows but that it may produce a Peace to England, and much security and comfort to God's People. Wherefore I pray you, continue to give what furtherance you can to this Work, by speeding such supplies to us as you can possibly spare.—Not having more at present, I rest, your affectionate friend and servant, OLIVER CROMWELL.*

2. *For the Honourable Sir Arthur Haselrig, Governor of Newcastle: These. Haste, haste*

Edinburgh, 9th September 1650.

SIR,—I cannot but hasten you in sending-up what Forces possibly you can. This enclosed was intended to you on Saturday, but could not come.

We are not able to carry-on our business as we would, until we have wherewith to keep Edinburgh and Leith,—until we attempt, and are acting, forwards. We have not, in these parts, "at such a season of the year," above two months to keep the field. Therefore expedite what you can! And I desire you to send us free Masons;—you know not the importance of Leith.

* Original in the possession of R. Ormston, Esq., Newcastle-on-Tyne.

I hope your Northern Guests are come to you, by this time. I pray you let humanity be exercised towards them; I am persuaded it will be comely. Let the Officers be kept at Newcastle, some sent to Lynn, some to Chester.

I have no more; but rest, your affectionate servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.

I desire, as forces come up, I may hear from time to time what they are, how their marches are laid, and when I may expect them.

My service to the dear Lady.*

No. 20

FOUR LETTERS TO THE SPEAKER, IN BEHALF OF INDIVIDUAL MILITARY GENTLEMEN, AND THEIR CLAIMS

[Vol. ii. pp. 270, 303, 307, 308.]

Letter 1st, in behalf of Colonel Maleverer's Family (vol. ii. p. 270).

"To the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These"

Edinburgh, 28th Dec. 1650.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—It having pleased God to take away by death Colonel John Maleverer, a very useful member of this Army, I thought it requisite to move you on the behalf of his sad Widow and seven small Children.

I need not say much. His faithfulness in your service, and his cheerfulness to be spent in the same, is very well known. And truly, he had a spirit very much beyond his natural strength of body, having undergone many fits of sickness during this hard service in your field, where he was constant and diligent in his charge; and, notwithstanding the weakness of his body, thought himself bound in conscience to continue to the utmost, preferring the Public service before his private relations. And (as I have

* Original in the possession of R. Ormston, Esq., Newcastle-on-Tyne. Besides the Signature, 'My service to the dear Lady' is also autograph.

been credibly informed) his losses by the Royal and Malignant Party have been very great; being occasioned by his appearing with the first in his Country for the Parliament.

I have therefore made bold to represent these things before you, that you may timely consider of those that he hath left behind him, and bestow some mark of favour and respect upon them towards their comfortable subsistence. I rest, your most humble servant, OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Letter 2*d*, in behalf of John Arundel of Trerice (vol. ii. p. 303).

Oliver is now in Scotland, busy enough with great matters; must not neglect the small either. Military Gentlemen, Ex-Royalist even, applying to the Lord-General in their distress, seem to be a frequent item just now. To whom how can he be deaf, if it is undeserved distress?—'This Enclosed'[1] is from an Ex-Royalist Gentleman, Mr. John Arundel of Trerice in Cornwall; and relates to what is now an old story, the Surrender of Pendennis Castle to Fairfax's people (August 1646); in which Mr. John, by the arbitrary conduct of a certain Parliamentary Official, suffers huge damage at this time,—a fine of no less than £10,000, 'quite ruinous to my poor estate,' and clear against bargain at the rendition of Pendennis, being now laid upon him by the arbitrary Parliamentary Official in those parts. As not only human justice, but the honour of the Army is concerned, Mr. John has written to the Lord General,—the Trerice Arundels, he alleges furthermore, having once 'had the honour to stand in some friendship, or even kinship, with your noble family.' Oliver, during that hurried first visit to Glasgow, writes in consequence:

"To the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These"

Glasgow, 25th April 1651.

SIR,—Receiving this Enclosed, and finding the contents of it to expostulate for justice and faith-keeping, and the direction not improper to myself from the Party interested, forasmuch as it is the word and the faith of the Army engaged unto a performance; and understanding by what steps it hath proceeded, which this enclosed Letter of the Gentleman's will make manifest unto you:—I make bold humbly to present the Business to the Parliament.

* Tanner MSS. (in Cary, ii. 243).

[1] *Ibid.* ii. 258.

If he desires that which is not just and honourable for you to grant, I shall willingly bear blame for this trouble, and be glad to be denied: but if it be just and honourable, and tends to make good the faith of your servants, I take the boldness then to pray he may stand or fall according to that. And this desire, I hope, is in faithfulness to you; and will be so judged. I take leave; and rest, Sir, your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Letter 3d, in behalf of Colonel Clayton (vol. ii. p. 307).

"To the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These"

Edinburgh, 10th May 1651.

SIR,—I am very desirous to make an humble motion unto you on the behalf of Colonel Randall Clayton;—who, being taken prisoner[1] when I was in Ireland, was with some other Officers judged to die, as those that had formerly served the Parliament, but were then partakers with the Lord Inchiquin in his Revolt: and although the rest suffered, according to the sentence passed upon them, yet, with the advice of the chief Officers, I thought meet to give him, the said Colonel Randall Clayton, his life, as one that is furnished with large abilities for the service of his Country: and indeed there was the appearance of such remorse, and of a work of grace upon his spirit, that I am apt to believe he will hereafter prove an useful member unto the State, upon the best account.

Having thus given him his release, and observing his Christian candour, I then promised him to negotiate with the Parliament for the taking-off the sequestration that is upon his estate, which indeed is but very small. I do therefore humbly entreat you To pass such a special act of favour towards him, whereby he will be engaged and enabled to improve his interest the more vigorously, in his place, for the advantage of the Public.

I would not address such an overture to you, did I not suppose

* Tanner MSS. (in Cary, ii. 270).

[1] Supra, vol. ii. 153, and Whitlocke, p. 432.

that the placing of this favour upon this person will be of very good use, and an act of much charity and tenderness. I rest, Sir, your most humble servant, OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Letter written (what may be noted) just in the beginning of that dangerous Fit of Sickness;—following Letter just about the end of it.

Letter 4th, in behalf of Colonel Borlace (vol. ii. p. 308).

"To the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These"

Edinburgh, 13th June 1651.

Sir,—Having received the enclosed Petition and Letter from the Officers of a Court of War at Whitehall, representing unto me that the faith of the Army concerning the Articles of Truro,[1] in the particular case of Colonel Nicholas Borlace, is violated; and the Petitioner himself having come hither to Scotland, desiring me to be instrumental that the said Articles be performed, and that the faith of the Army thereupon given might be made good: —I do therefore humbly desire That the Parliament will take his case into consideration, and that his Business may receive a speedy hearing (he being already almost quite exhausted in the prosecution thereof); that so justice may be done unto him, and that the faith of the Army may be preserved.

I crave pardon for this trouble; and rest, Sir, your most humble servant, OLIVER CROMWELL.†

No. 20 *

[Vol. ii. p. 306.]

GENERAL HARRISON, with some force, is on the Border, keeping open our communications. Along with that Letter to Mrs. Cromwell goes another, dated the same day.

* Tanner MSS. (in Cary, ii. 272).

[1] Hopton's Surrender, 14th March 1645-6 (antea, vol. i. p. 229); a hurried Treaty which gave rise to much doubting and pleading, in other instances than this.

† Tanner MSS. (in Cary, ii. 276).

For the Honourable Major-General Harrison: These

Edinburgh, May 3d, 1651.

Dear Harrison,—I received thine of the 23d of April. Thy Letters are always very welcome to me.

Although your new militia forces are so bad as you mention, yet I am glad that you are in the head of them; because I believe God will give you a heart to reform them; a principal means whereof will be, by placing good Officers over them, and putting out the bad; whereunto you will not want my best furtherance and concurrence. I have had much such stuff to deal withal, in those sent to me into Scotland; but, blessed be the Lord, we have "been" and are reforming them daily, finding much encouragement from the Lord therein; only we do yet want some honest men to come to us to make Officers. And this is the grief, that this being the cause of God and of His people, so many saints should be in their security and ease, and not come out to the work of the Lord in this great day of the Lord.

I hear nothing of the men you promised me. Truly I think you should do well to write to my friends in London and elsewhere, to quicken their sense in this great business. I have written this week to Sir Henry Vane, and given him a full account of your affairs. I hope it will not be in vain.

I think it will be much better for you to draw nigher to Carlisle, where "are" twelve troops of horse; whereof six are old troops, and five or six of dragoons. Besides, the troops you mention upon the Borders will be ready upon a day's notice to fall into conjunction with you; so that if any parties should think to break into England (which, through the mercy of God, we hope to have an eye to), you will be, upon that conjunction, in a good posture to obviate "them." Truly I think that if you could be at Penrith and those parts, it would do very well. And I do therefore desire you, as soon as you can, to march thither. Whereby also you and we shall have the more frequent and constant correspondency one with another. And it will be better, if a party of the enemy should happen to make such an attempt, to fight him before he hath an opportunity to get far into our country.

I have offered a consideration also to our friend at London, that

you might have two regiments of foot sent too, "of" which I am not without hope.

The Lord bless you and keep you, and increase the number of His faithful ones. Pray for us, and for him who assures you he is your affectionate faithful Friend, OLIVER CROMWELL.*

No. 21

MARCH TO WORCESTER

[Vol. ii. p. 321.]

OLIVER, in his swift March from Scotland towards Worcester, takes Ripon and Doncaster as stages: Provision for us must be 'in readiness against our coming.'

"To the Mayor and Corporation of Doncaster: These"

Ripon, 18th August 1651.

GENTLEMEN,—I intend, God willing, to be at Doncaster with the Army on Wednesday[1] night or Thursday morning; and forasmuch as the Soldiers will need a supply of victual, I desire you to give notice to the country, and to use your best endeavours to cause bread, butter, cheese and flesh to be brought in, and to be in readiness there against our coming; for which the country shall receive ready money. Not doubting of your care herein, I rest, your very loving friend, OLIVER CROMWELL.†

No. 22

AFTER WORCESTER BATTLE: LETTERS TO THE SPEAKER

[Vol. ii. p. 332.]

"To the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These"

Evesham, 8th September 1651.

SIR,—The late most remarkable, seasonable, and signal Victory, which our good God (to whom alone be ascribed all the glory)

* Letter in possession of B. S. Elcock, Esq., of Prior-Park Buildings, Bath (*Note of* 1869).

[1] Wednesday is 20th.

† Original in the possession of Pudsey Dawson, Esq., Hornby Castle, Lancashire (communicated, 19th October 1850).

was pleased to vouchsafe your servants against the Scottish Army at Worcester, doth, as I conceive, justly engage me humbly to present in reference thereunto this consideration: That as the Lord appeared so wonderfully in His mercies towards you, so it will be very just to extend mercy to His people, our Friends that suffered in these parts upon this occasion; and that some reparation may be made them out of the Sequestration or Estates of such as abetted this Engagement against you. The town being entered by storm, some honest men, promiscuously and without distinction, suffered by your Soldier;—which could not at that time possibly be prevented, in the fury and heat of the battle.

I also humbly present to your charity the poor distressed Wife and Children of one William Guise, of the City of Worcester, who was barbarously put to death by the Enemy for his faithfulness to the Parliament. The man (as I am credibly informed) feared the Lord; and upon that account likewise deserveth more consideration. Really, Sir, I am abundantly satisfied, that divers honest men, both in city and country, suffered exceedingly (even to the ruin of their families), by these parts being the seat of the War: and it will be an encouragement to honest men, when they are not given over to be swallowed-up in the same destruction with enemies.

I hope the Commissioners of the Militia will be very careful and discerning in the distribution of your charity. I cannot but double my desires, that some speedy course may be taken herein.

I have sent the Mayor and Sheriff of Worcester to Warwick Castle, there to attend the pleasure of Parliament concerning their Trial; I having not opportunity to try them by Court Martial. I have also taken security of the other Aldermen who remained in the city, to be forthcoming when I shall require them.

It may be well worthy your consideration, That some severity be shown to some of those of this Country, as well of quality as meaner ones, who, having been engaged in the former War, did now again appear in arms against you. I rest, Sir, your most humble servant, OLIVER CROMWELL.*

* Tanner MSS. (in Cary, ii. 378).

"To the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These"

Chipping Norton, 8th September 1651.

SIR,—I have sent this Bearer, Captain Orpyn, with the Colours taken in the late Fight;—at least as many of them as came to my hands, for I think very many of them have miscarried. I believe the number of these sent will be about an Hundred; the remainder also being Forty or Fifty, which were taken at the Engagement in Fife.[1] I ask pardon for troubling you herewith; and rest, Sir, your most humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

No. 23

LETTER TO SISTER ELIZABETH

[Vol i. p. 20 note; iii. p. 15.]

By accident, another curious glimpse into the Cromwell Family. 'Sister Elizabeth,' of whom, except the date of her birth and that she died unmarried,[2] almost nothing is known, comes visibly to light here; 'living at Ely,' in very truth (as Noble had guessed she did); quietly boarded at some friendly Doctor's there, in the scene and among the people always familiar to her. She is six years older than Oliver; now and then hears from him, we are glad to see, and receives 'small tokens of his love' of a substantial kind. For the rest, sad news in this Letter! Son Ireton is dead of fever in Ireland; the tidings reached London just a week ago.

For my dear Sister Mrs. Elizabeth Cromwell, at Doctor Richard Stand[3] *his house at Ely: These*

"Cockpit," 15th December 1651.

DEAR SISTER,—I have received divers Letters from you; I must desire you to excuse my not writing so often as you expect: my burden is not ordinary, nor are my weaknesses a few to go through therewith; but I have hope in a better Strength.—I have here-

[1] Inverkeithing Fight in July: see Letter CLXXV.

* Tanner MSS (in Cary, ii. 380)

[2] Antea, vol. i. p. 20.

[3] Query, not *Hand*?

with sent you Twenty Pounds as a small token of my love. I hope I shall be mindful of you. I wish you and I may have our rest and satisfaction where all saints have theirs. What is of this world will be found transitory; a clear evidence whereof is my Son Ireton's death. I rest, dear Sister, your affectionate Brother,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

"P.S."[1] My Mother, Wife, and your friends here remember their loves.

No. 24

LETTER TO THE COMMITTEE FOR SEQUESTRATIONS, IN BEHALF OF MR. AND MRS. FINCHAM

[Vol. iii. p. 19.]

THOMAS FINCHAM, Esquire of Oatwell, Isle of Ely, is on the List of Delinquents: Oliver, as an old friend or at least neighbour, will do what he can for him.

To the Commissioners for Sequestration, at Goldsmiths' Hall: These

Cockpit, — December 1651.

GENTLEMEN,—I formerly recommended unto you the Petition of one Mr. Fincham and his Wife, desiring that if it were in your power to give remedy in their case, you would be pleased to hear them, according to the equity of their case. And forasmuch as they have waited long in Town for a hearing, to their great charge and expenses, which their present condition will not well bear, I again earnestly desire that you will grant them your favour of a speedy hearing of their business, and to relieve them according to the merits and justice of their case: whereby you will very much oblige, Gentlemen, your very loving friend,

OLIVER CROMWELL.†

* Original shown me, and copied for me (26th October 1853), by Mr. Puttick, Auctioneer, 191 Piccadilly,—who sold it, with another (Letter to *Dick*, *2d April* 1650, *Carrick*, our Letter CLXXXII.), next day, 'for 9 guineas, to Mr. Holloway, Bedford Street': the *Dick*, a long letter, in very good keeping, went 'for 26 guineas, to Mr. John Young, 6 Size Lane, Bucklersbury.'

[1] On the margin.

† Composition Papers, in State-Paper Office.

No. 25

To Oxford and Cambridge

[Vol. iii. p. 22.]

From those nine months of 1652 remain certain other small vestiges or waymarks; relating, as it happens, to the Universities, of one of which Oliver was Chancellor. The first is a Letter to Oxford.

'Greenwood' we have already seen: 'Goodwin' is the famed Independent, at this time President of Magdalen College. Of 'Zachary Maine,' and his wishes and destinies, the reader can find an adequate account in Wood, with express allusion to the Letter which follows.[1] Zachary's desire was complied-with. A godly young man from Exeter City; not undeserving such a favour; who lived seven years in profitable communion with Goodwin, Owen, and the others; then, at the Restoration, fell into troubles, into waverings; but ended peaceably as Master of the Free School of Exeter, the Mayor and Chamber favouring him there.

1. *To the Reverend my very loving Friend Dr. Greenwood, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford*

"Cockpit," 12th April 1652.

Sir,—Mr. Thomas Goodwin hath recommended unto me one Zachary Maine, Demy of Magdalen College, to have the favour To be dispensed-with for the want of two or three terms in the taking of his Degree of Bachelor. I am assured that he is eminently godly, of able parts, and willing to perform all his exercises. Upon which account (if it will not draw along with it too great an inconvenience) I desire that he may have the particular favour to be admitted to the said Degree. Which I intend not to draw into a precedent, but shall be very sparing therein. I remain, Sir, your very loving friend, Oliver Cromwell.*

The Second an official Protection to Cambridge:

2. *To all Officers, Soldiers under my command, and others whom it may concern*

These are to charge and require you, upon sight hereof: Not to quarter any Officers or Soldiers in any of the Colleges, Halls or

[1] *Athenæ*, iv. 411.

* From the Archives of Oxford University. Communicated by the Rev. Dr. Bliss.

other Houses belonging to the University of Cambridge; Nor to offer any injury or violence to any of the Students or Members of any of the Colleges or Houses of the said University. As you shall answer the contrary at your peril.

Given under my hand and seal, the First of July 1652.

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

Note. In the Archives of Trinity College Cambridge is a patent duly signeted, and superscribed 'Oliver P.', of date 'Whitehall, 21st October 1654'; appointing Richard Pratt, 'who, as we are informed, is very poor and necessitous,' a *Bedesman* (small pensioner for life) of that College. Which merely official Piece, as Richard Pratt too, except this of being poor, is without physiognomy for us, we do not insert here.[1]

The Third and Fourth are for Oxford again:

3. *By his Excellency the Lord General Cromwell, Chancellor of the University of Oxford*

Whereas divers applications have been made unto me, from several of the Members of the University of Oxford, concerning differences which have arisen between the Members of the said University about divers matters which fall under my cognisance as Chancellor: And forasmuch as differences and complaints of the like nature may "again" happen and arise between them: And considering that it would be very troublesome and chargeable to the parties concerned to attend me at this distance about the same: And the present burden of public affairs not permitting me so fully to hear and understand the same as to be able to give my judgment and determination therein:

I do hereby desire and authorise Mr. John Owen, now Vicechancellor of the University, and the Heads of the several Colleges and Halls there, or any Five or more of them (whereof the said Vicechancellor to be one), To hear and examine all such differences and complaints which have "arisen," or shall arise, between any of the said Members; giving them as full power and authority as in me lies to order and determine therein as, in their judgments, they shall think meet and agreeable to justice and

* Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*, iii. 452.

[1] Copy *penes me*.

equity. And this Power and Commission to continue during the space of Six Months now next ensuing.

Given under my hand and seal, the 16th day of October 1652.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

4. *By his Excellency the Lord General Cromwell, Chancellor of the University of Oxford*

Whereas within the University of Oxford there frequently happen several things to be disposed, granted and confirmed, wherewith the Vicechancellor, Doctors-Regent, Masters and others of the said University, in their Delegacies and Convocations, cannot by their statutes dispense, grant or confirm, without the assent of their Chancellor: And forasmuch as the present weighty affairs of the Commonwealth do call for and engage me to reside, and give my personal attendance, in or near London; so that the Scholars of the said University and others are put to much charge and trouble by coming to London to obtain my assent in the cases before mentioned: Therefore, taking the premises into consideration, For the more ease and benefit of the said Scholars and University, and that I may with less avocation and diversion attend the councils and service of the Commonwealth:

I do by these presents ordain, authorise, appoint and delegate Mr. John Owen, Dean of Christchurch and Vicechancellor of the said University; Dr. Wilkins, Warden of Wadham College; Dr. Jonathan Goddard, Warden of Merton College; Mr. Thomas Goodwin, President of Magdalen College; and Mr. Peter French, Prebend of Christchurch, or any Three or more of them, To take into consideration all and every matter of dispensation, grant or comfirmation whatsoever which requires my assent as Chancellor to the said University, and thereupon to dispense, grant, confirm, or otherwise dispose thereof, as to them shall seem meet; and to certify the same to the Convocation. And all and every such dispensation, grant, confirmation or disposition made by the aforesaid Mr. John Owen, Dr. Wilkins, Dr. Jonathan Goddard, Mr. Thomas Goodwin, and Mr. Peter French, or any Three or more of them, shall be to all intents and purposes firm and valid, in as full, large and ample manner as if to every such particular

act they had my assent in writing under my hand and seal, or I had been personally present and had given my voice and suffrage thereunto.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal, the 16th day of October 1652. OLIVER CROMWELL.*

No. 26

LETTER TO LORD WHARTON ABOUT HENRY CROMWELL'S MARRIAGE

[Vol. ii. p. 324.]

'POOR foolish Mall,' whom we guessed in the Text to be on a visit at Winchington, was then busy there, it would seem, and is now again busy, on a very important matter: scheme of marriage between her brother Henry, now in Ireland, and her fair Friend here, Lord Wharton's Daughter,—the Lady Elizabeth, his eldest, as may be clearly inferred from the genealogies.[1] The Lord General approves; match most honourable; shall not fail for want of money on his part. Unless, indeed, 'the just scruples of the Lady' prove unsurmountable? Which, apparently, they did. Both parties afterwards married: the Lady Elizabeth to 'the third Earl Lindsay'; Henry Cromwell a 'Russel of Chippenham'; on which latter event, the 'Dalby and Broughton,' here mentioned, were actually settled upon Henry. Burleigh and Pakham went to his brother Richard.

"For the Right Honourable the Lord Wharton: These"

"Cockpit," 30th June 1652.

MY DEAR LORD,—Indeed I durst not suddenly make up any judgment what would be fit for me to do or desire, in the Business you know of. But being engaged to give you an account upon our last conference, I shall be bold to do that, and add a word or two therewith.

For the Estate I mentioned, I cannot now (by reason my Steward is not here) be so exact as I would: but the Lands I design for this occasion are Burleigh, Oakham, and two other little things not far distant; in all about 1900*l.* per annum.

* From the Archives of Oxford University. Communicated by the Rev. Dr. Bliss.

1 Lipscomb's *History and Antiquities of Buckinghamshire* (London, 1847), i. 544.

Moreover Dalby "and" Broughton, 1600*l.* per annum. Burleigh hath some charge upon it, which will in convenient time be removed. This is near twice as much as I intended my Son: yet all is unworthy of the honourable Person.

My Lord, give me leave to doubt that the Lady hath so many just scruples, which if not very freely reconciled may be too great a tentation to her spirit, and also have after-inconveniences. And although I know your Lordship so really,[1] yet I believe you may have your share of difficulties to conflict with; which may make the Business uneasy:—wherefore, good my Lord, I beg it, If there be not freedom and cheerfulness in the noble Person, let this Affair slide easily off, and not a word more be spoken about it,—as your Lordship's "own" thoughts are. So hush all, and save the labour of little Mall's fooling,—lest she incur the loss of a good Friend indeed. My Lord, I write my heart plainly to you, as becomes, my Lord, your most affectionate servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

No. 27

SCRAPS FROM 1653.

[Vol. iii. p. 75.]

1. IN a volume of the *Annual Register* are given certain Letters or Petitions concerning the printing of Dr. Walton's Polyglott Bible. At the end of the Petitions is the following:

"Whitehall," 16th May 1653.

I think fit that this work of printing the Bible in the Original and other Languages go on without any let or interruption.

OLIVER CROMWELL.†

'By favour of whose Government,' as Walton in his Preface furthermore records, 'we had our paper free of duty, *quorum favore chartam a vectigalibus immunem habuimus*,'—with perhaps other furtherances. See Twells' *Life of Pocock* (reprint, London, 1816), pp. 209-211.

[1] 'reallilye' in orig.

* Original in Bodleian Library; indorsed by Lord Wharton, 'My Lord Generall to mee about his Sonne.' Printed in *Illustrated London News*, 7th November 1856

† *Annual Register*, xxxvi. 373-4.

2. Here, lest any one should be again sent hunting through 'Pegge's Manuscripts,' take the following highly insignificant Official Note. Date, four weeks after the Dismissal of the Rump; when the 'Committee of the Army,' and Oliver 'Commander of all the Forces raised and to be raised,' are naturally desirous to know the state of the Army-Accounts. Where Mitchell commands at present, I do not know; nor whether he might be the 'Captain Mitchell' who was known some years ago in a disagreeable transaction with the Lord-General's Secretary,[1] and whose Accounts may be rather specially a matter of interest.

For Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell

Whitehall, 18th May 1653.

SIR,—You are desired with all expedition to prepare and send to the Committee for the Army an Account of all Moneys by you received upon their Warrants between the Fifteenth of January 1647 and the Twentieth of October 1651, for the use of the Forces within the time aforesaid under your command, or for the use of any other Regiment, Troop or Company, by or for whom you were intrusted or appointed to receive any money.

And in case you cannot perfect your Account, and send the same, as you are hereby directed, before the Seventh of June next, you are desired by that time at the farthest to send in writing under your hand to the said Committee, What Moneys by you received as aforesaid do remain in your hands.

Hereof you are not to fail. OLIVER CROMWELL.*

3. Among the State-Papers in Paris there have lately been found Three small Notes to Mazarin, not of much, if indeed of almost any moment, but worth preserving since they are here. Two of them belong to this Section. The first, which exists only in French, apparently as translated for Mazarin's reading, would not be wholly without significance if we had it in the original. It is dated just three days after that Summons to the Puritan Notables;[2]—and the Lord General, we see, struggles to look upon himself as a man that has done with Political Affairs.

"A Son Eminence, Monsieur le Cardinal Mazarin"

De Westminster, ce 9-19 *Juin* 1653.

Monsieur,—J'ai été surpris de voir que votre Eminence ait voulu penser à une personne si peu considérable que moi, vivant en quelque

[1] Newspapers (in *Cromwelliana*, p. 61), 22d-29th June 1649.

* Pegge's MSS. (in the College of Arms, London), vii. 425.

[2] Antea, vol. iii. p. 39.

façon retiré du reste du monde. Cet honneur a fait avec juste raison une si forte impression sur moi, que je me sens obligé de servir votre Eminence en toutes occasions; et comme je m'estimerai heureux de les pouvoir rencontrer, j'espère que M. de Bourdeaux en facilitera les moyens à celui qui est, Monsieur, de votre Eminence le très-humble serviteur.

*OLIVER CROMWELL.**

Of which take this Version:

'Westminster, 9th June 1653.

'Sir,—I have been surprised that your Eminency was pleased to remember a person so inconsiderable as myself, living, as it were, withdrawn from the rest of the world. This honour has justly such a resentment with me that I feel myself bound, by all opportunities, to be serviceable to your Eminency; and as I shall be happy to meet with such, so I hope M. de Bourdeaux,' the Ambassador, 'will help to procure them to, Sir, your Eminency's most humble servant,

'Oliver Cromwell.'

Nay here now (*Edition* 1857) is the Original itself; politely forwarded to me, three years ago, by the Translator of M. Guizot's *English Commonwealth*, where doubtless it has since appeared in print:

Westminster, the 9th of June 1653.

It 's surprise to me that your Eminence should take notice of a person so inconsiderable as myself, living, as it were, separate from the world. This honour has, as it ought, "made" a very deep impression upon me, and does oblige "me" to serve your Eminency upon all occasions: and as I shall be happy to find out "such," so I trust that very honourable person, Monsieur Burdoe, will therein be helpful to, your Eminency's thrice-humble servant,

O. Cromwell.

4. The negotiations with Whitlocke for going on that perilous Embassy to Sweden have left for us the following offhand specimen of an Official Note from Oliver. Oliver and Pickering had already been earnestly dealing with the learned man that he would go: at their subsequent interview, Oliver observed to Whitlocke, 'Sir Gilbert' Pickering 'would needs write a very fine Letter; and when he had done, did not like it himself. I then took pen and ink, and straightway wrote that to you':

* From the Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, at Paris. Communicated by Thomas Wright, Esq. F.S.A. etc.

"To Sir Bulstrode Whitlocke, Lord Commissioner of the Great Seal"

Whitehall, 2d September 1653.

My Lord,—The Council of State having thoughts of putting your Lordship to the trouble of being Extraordinary Ambassador to the Queen of Swedeland, did think fit not to impose that service upon you without first knowing your own freedom thereunto. Wherefore they were pleased to command our service to make this address to your Lordship; and hereby we can assure you of a very large confidence in your honour and abilities for this employment. To which we begging your answer, do rest, my Lord, your humble servants, Oliver Cromwell.
Gilbert Pickering.*

5. The Little Parliament has now dismissed itself, and Oliver has henceforth a new Signature.

"To his Eminency Cardinal Mazarin"

"Whitehall," 26th January 1653.

My Lord,—Monsieur de Baas[1] hath delivered me the Letter which your Eminency hath been pleased to write to me; and also communicated by word of mouth your particular affections and good disposition towards me, and the affairs of these Nations as now constituted. Which I esteem a very great honour; and hold myself obliged, upon the return of this Gentleman to you, to send my thanks to your Eminency for so singular a favour; my just resentment whereof I shall upon all occasions really demonstrate; and be ready to express the great value I have of your person and merits, as your affairs and interest shall require from, your very affectionate friend to serve you, Oliver P.†

6. 'The Corporation of Lynn Regis,' it appears, considered that the navigation of their Port would be injured by the works now going on for

* From Whitlocke's Account of his Embassy (quoted in Forster iv. 319).

1 The new Envoy, or Agent; of whom in the next No.

† From the Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, at Paris Communicated by Thomas Wright, Esq, F.S A etc.

Edmund Waller

Draining the great Bedford Level of the Fens. They addressed the Protector on the subject; and this is his Letter in answer thereto. Nothing came of it farther.

To the Mayor and Aldermen of Lynn Regis

Whitehall, 30th January 1653.

GENTLEMEN,—I received yours; and cannot but let you know the good resentments I have of your respects;—assuring you that I shall be always ready to manifest a tender love and care of you and your welfare, and in particular of that concernment of yours relating to navigation.

Commending you to the grace of God, I remain, your loving friend, OLIVER P.*

No. 28

From 1654-1655: VOWEL'S PLOT; RECTORY OF HOUGHTON CONQUEST; PENRUDDOCK'S PLOT; LETTER TO THE POET WALLER; NEW ENGLAND

[Vol. iii. pp. 100, 200, 208.]

1. ANOTHER wholly insignificant Official Note to Mazarin, in regard to Vowel's Plot, and the dismissal of M. de Baas for his complicity in it. De Baas, whom some call Le Baas, or rightly Le Bas, was a kind of subsidiary Agent despatched by Mazarin early in the Spring of 1653-4 'to congratulate the new Protector,' that is, to assist Bourdeaux, who soon after got the regular title of Ambassador, in ascertaining how a Treaty could be made with the new Protector, or, on the whole, what was to be done with England and him. Hitherto, during the Dutch War and other vicissitudes, there had been a mixed undefinable relation between the two Countries, rather hostile than neutral. The 'Treaty and firm Amity,' as we know, had its difficulties, its delays; in the course of which it occurred to M. Le Bas that perhaps the Restoration of Charles Stuart, by Vowel and Company, might be a shorter cut to the result. Examination of Witnesses in consequence; examination of Le Bas himself by the Protector and Council, in consequence; mild hint to Le Bas that he must immediately go home again.[1]

* *History of the Ancient and Present State of the Navigation of the Port of King's Lynn and of Cambridge* (London, fol. 1766), p. 55

[1] Depositions concerning him (April, May, 1654), Thurloe, ii. 309, 351-3: notice of his first arrival (February 1653-4), *ib.* 113 See also *ib.* 379, 437.

"Eminentissimo Cardinali Mazarino"

Eminentissime Cardinalis,—In Litteris Nostris ad Regem datis, causas et rationes recensuimus quare Dominum De Baas ex hâc Republicâ excedere jussimus, et Majestatem Suam certam fecimus, Nos, non obstante hâc dicti de Baas machinatione, cujus culpam ei solummodo imputamus, in eâdem adhuc sententiâ perstare, firmam arctamque Pacem et Amicitiam cum Galliâ colendi et paciscendi. Atque hâc occasione gratum nobis est priora illa propensæ nostræ erga vos et res vestras voluntatis indicia et testimonia renovare; quam etiam, datâ subinde occasione, palam facere et luculenter demonstrare parati erimus. Interea Eminentiam vestram Divinæ benignitatis præsidio commendamus.

Dab. ex Albâ Aulâ vicesimo nono Junii an. 1654.

*OLIVERIUS P.**

Of which, if it be worth translating, this is the English:

'Most Eminent Cardinal,—In our Letter to the King we have set forth the grounds and occasions moving us to order M. de Baas to depart from this Commonwealth; and have assured his Majesty, that notwithstanding this deceit of the said De Baas, the blame of which is imputed to him alone, we persist as heretofore in the same purpose of endeavouring and obtaining a firm and intimate Peace and Amity with France. And it gives us pleasure, on this occasion, to renew those former testimonies of our good inclination towards you and your interests; which also, as opportunity offers, we shall in future be ready to manifest and clearly demonstrate. In the mean while, we commend your Eminency to the keeping of the Almighty, Oliver P.

'Whitehall, 29th June 1654.'

2. Presentation to the Rectory of Houghton Conquest

'*Communicated to me*' (Thomas Baker, the Cambridge Antiquary) '*by my worthy friend Brown Willis Esq. of Whaddon Hall in Com. Bucks, from the original Presentation, in the hands of a friend of his.*'

OLIVER P.

Oliver, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, to the

* From the Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, at Paris. Communicated by Thomas Wright, Esq. F.S.A. etc.

Commissioners authorised by a late Ordinance for Approbation of Public Preachers, or "to" any five of them, greeting. We present John Pointer to the Rectory of Houghton Conquest in the county of Bedford, void by the death of the late Incumbent, and to our presentation belonging; to the end he may be approved-of by them, and admitted thereunto, with all its rights, members and appurtenances whatsoever, according to the tenor of the aforesaid Ordinance.

Given at Whitehall, the 29th of September 1654.*

3. Design against the Spanish West Indies

[Vol. iii. pp. 160, 207.]

Our great Design against the Spaniards in the West Indies is still called only 'a Design by Sea,' and kept very secret. Proper, however, as the rumours probably are loud, to give the Parliament, now sitting, some hint of it. Hence this Letter; of no moment otherwise. Unluckily 'the right-hand border of the Paper is now much worn away'; so that several words are wanting,—conjecturally supplied here, *in italics*.

To Our right trusty and well-beloved William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament

Whitehall, 22d September 1654.

Mr. Speaker,—I have, by advice of the Council, undertaken a Design by Sea, very much (as we hope and judge) for the honour and advantage of the Commonwealth; and have already made the preparations requisite for such an undertaking. But before I proceed to the execution thereof, the Parliament being now convened, I thought it agreeable to my trust to communicate to them the aforesaid resolution, and not to desire the delay thereof any longer (although I suppose you may be engaged, at the present, in matters of greater weight); because many *miscarriages* will fall out in this Business through delay, as well in *providing* of the charge as otherwise; the well-timing of such a *Design* being as considerable as anything about it. And th*erefore I* desire you to

* Harl. mss. no. 7053, f. 153.

take your first opportunity to acquaint *the House* with the contents of this Letter, wherein I have *forborne* to be more particular, because there are severed *persons* in Parliament who know this whole Business, and *can inform* the House of all particulars, if the House do judge *it to be* consistent with the nature of the Design to have it o*ffered* to them particularly:—which I refer to their consideration; and rest, your assured friend,

OLIVER P.*

4. NEW APPOINTMENTS; ANNOUNCEMENT OF THEM TO THE PARLIAMENT

OLIVER P.

To Our right trusty and right well-beloved William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament

RIGHT TRUSTY AND RIGHT WELL-BELOVED,—We greet you well. It being expressed in the Thirty-Fourth Article of the Government, That the Chancellor, Keeper or Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Treasurer, Admiral, Chief Governors of Ireland and Scotland, and the Chief Justices of both the Benches, shall be chosen by the approbation of Parliament, and in the intervals of Parliament by the approbation of the major part of the Council, —to be afterwards approved by the Parliament; and several Persons of integrity and ability having been appointed by Me (with the Council's approbation) for some of those Services before the meeting of the Parliament;—I have thought it necessary to transmit unto you, in the enclosed Schedule, the names of those Persons, to the end that the resolution of the Parliament may be known concerning them: which I desire may be with such speed as the other public occasions of the Commonwealth will admit. And so I bid you heartily farewell.

Given at Whitehall, this Fifth day of October 1654.†

* 'Autograph Letter throughout.' Copy *penes me*; reference (Tanner MSS. no doubt) is unfortunately lost. See *Commons Journals*, vii. 369 (22d September 1654), for the Return made.

† Original, with the Great Seal attached, in Tanner MSS., lii. 135. See *Commons Journals*, vii. 378 (24th October 1654).

Enclosure is indorsed: 'The Schedule enclosed in his Highness Letter of. ye 5th of October 1654.'—'Read October 5th, 1654; and again, 6th Oct.'

Charles Fleetwood, Esquire . . .	Deputy of Ireland.
Bulstrode Whitlocke, Esquire . . .	Commissioners of the Great Seal of England.
Sir Thomas Widdrington, Knt. . . .	
John Lisle, Esquire	
The Three Commissioners of the Great Seal above-named	Commissioners of the Treasury.
The Lord Chief Justice Rolle . . .	
The Lord Chief Justice St. John . .	
Edward Montague, Esquire . . .	
William Sydenham, Esquire . . .	
Henry Rolle	Chief Justice of the Court of Upper Bench.
Oliver St. John	Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas.

5 and 6. The following Two Letters, one of which is clearly of Thurloe's composition, have an evident reference to Penruddock's affair: they find their place here.

Sergeant Wilde, now more properly Lord Chief Baron Wilde, is a Worcester man; sat in the Long Parliament for that City, very prominent all along in Law difficulties and officialities,—in particular, directly on the heel of the Second Civil War, Autumn 1648, he rode circuit, and did justice on offenders, without asking his Majesty's opinion on the subject; which was thought a great feat on his part.[1] Shortly after which he was made Chief Baron, and so continues,—holding even now the Spring Assizes at Worcester, I think. Thurloe, as we said, appears to have shaped this Letter into words; only the signature and meaning can be taken as Oliver's. Unluckily too, either Mrs. Warner the Editress must have misread the date '25th' for 24th, or else Thurloe himself in his haste have miswritten, forgetting that it was New Year's Day overnight,

[1] Thanked by the Parliament (*Commons Journals*, vi. 49, 10th October 1648).

that it is not now 1654 but 1655. We will take the former hypothesis; and correct Mrs. Warner's '25th,' which in this case makes a whole year of difference.

For Sir John Wilde, Sergeant-at-Law, and the rest of the Justices of Peace for the County of Worcester, or any of them, to be communicated to the rest; or, in his absence, to Nicholas Lechmere, Esq., Worcester

Whitehall, 24th March 1654.

GENTLEMEN,—We doubt not but you have heard before this time of the hand of God going along with us, in defeating the late rebellious Insurrection. And we hope that, through His blessing upon our labours, an effectual course will be taken for the total disappointment of the whole Design. Yet knowing the resolution of the common Enemy to involve this Nation in new calamities, we conceive ourselves, and all others intrusted with preserving the peace of the Nation, obliged to endeavour in their places to prevent and defeat the Enemy's intentions: and therefore, as a measure especially conducing to that end,

We do earnestly recommend to you To take order that diligent Watches (such as the Law hath appointed) be daily kept, for taking a strict account of all strangers in the Country. Which will not only be a means to suppress all loose and idle persons; but may probably cause some of those who come from abroad to kindle fires here, to be apprehended and seized upon,—especially if care be taken to secure all them that cannot give a good account of their business;—and may also break all dangerous meetings and assemblings together. Herein we do require, and shall expect, your effectual endeavours; knowing that, if what by Law ought to be done were done with diligence in this respect, the contrivance of such dangerous Designs as these would be frustrated in their bud, or kept from growing to a maturity. I rest, your affectionate friend, OLIVER P.*

This second Letter, to the Gloucester Authorities, on the same subject, we judge by the style of it to be mostly or altogether the Protector's own.

* Rebecca Warner's *Epistolary Curiosities*, First Series (Bath, 1818), pp. 51-3.

For Major Wade, Major Creed, and the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Gloucester

Whitehall, 24th March 1654.

GENTLEMEN,—We doubt not but you have heard before this time of the good hand of God going along with us in defeating the late rebellious Insurrection; so that, as we have certain intelligence from all parts, the Risings are everywhere suppressed and dissolved, and some hundreds of prisoners in custody, and daily more are discovered and secured. And we hope that, through the blessing of God upon our labours, an effectual course will be taken for the total disappointment of the whole Design.

The readiness of the Honest People to appear hath been a great encouragement to us, and of no less discouragement to the Enemy; who, had he prevailed, would, without doubt, have made us the most miserable and harassed Nation in the world. And therefore we hold ourselves obliged to return you our hearty thanks for your zeal and forwardness in so readily appearing and contributing your assistance; wherein, although your Country and your own particular as to outward and inward happiness were concerned, yet we are fully persuaded that a more general Principle respecting the glory of God, and the good of all these Nations, hath been the motive to incite you: and therefore your action goes upon the higher and more noble account.

You have desired that we would consider of ways how to find money to carry-on this work. If the Business had not been allayed, we *must* have found out a way and means to allay that want. But otherwise indeed we make it, as we hope we ever shall, our design to ease this Nation, and not to burden it; and are tender,—as we conceive yourselves have been,—of putting the good people thereof to any unnecessary charge. And therefore, as you shall have fitting opportunity, you may recommend our thankfulness to your honest willing Countrymen, as we hereby do to yourselves, for this their forwardness; and let them know That when any danger shall approach, as we shall be watchful to observe the Enemy's stirrings, we will give you timely notice thereof: and we trust those good hearts will be ready, "on" being called out by you, to appear upon all such occasions. In the mean time they

may continue at their homes, blessing God for His mercy, and enjoying the fruit and comfort of this happy deliverance, and the other benefits of Peace.

And I do hereby let you know that Letters are directed to the Justices of Peace of several Counties,[1] That Watches be kept, such as the Law hath appointed for taking a strict account of all strangers, especially near the Coast. Which will not only be a means to suppress all loose and idle persons, but may probably cause some of those that come from abroad "in order" to kindle fires here, to be apprehended and seized,—especially if care be taken to secure all them that cannot give a good account; and may also break all dangerous meetings and assemblings together. And indeed if what by Law ought to be done were done with diligence in this respect, the continuance of such dangerous Designs as these would be frustrated in the birth, or kept from growing to maturity.

Having said this,—with remembrance of my hearty love to you, I rest, your very affectionate friend, OLIVER P.*

Of the same date, the same Letter (with insignificant variations), bearing the address, *For Colonel Humphrey Brewster and the rest of the Commissioners for the Militia for the County of Suffolk*, and dated as well as signed in Oliver's hand, is now in the possession of Charles Meadows, Esq., Great Bealings, Woodbridge, a kinsman or representative of this Humphrey Brewster.

The one considerable variation is as follows. Paragraph second, of the Copy given here, and the first two sentences of paragraph third, are suppressed in Brewster's Copy, and there stands instead,—after 'Design': 'And now forasmuch as it hath pleased God thus to allay this Business; and making it, as we hope we soon (*sic*) shall, our design to ease this Nation': etc.—after and before which the two Copies almost exactly correspond. (MS. *penes me.*)

By the City Records just cited from, it appears that, on the eve of the Battle of Worcester, in 1651, 'Eighteen Gloucester Bakers had sent to Tewkesbury for the Lord General Cromwell's Army, Thirteen-hundred and odd Dozens of Bread at a Shilling the dozen, amounting to £66, 5s.; and that the Mayor and others, on the 1st September 1651, sent Forty

[1] Foregoing Letter, To Wilde, for one.

* *Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis* (Gloucester, 1825;—see antea, vol. i. p. 165), p. 412;—from the ty Records of Gloucester.

barrels of strong Beer to the Lord General, "praying your favourable acceptance thereof, as an argument of the good affection of this Corporation, who doth congratulate your seasonable coming into these parts, for the relief thereof against the violence of the common Enemy, and wish prosperous success to you and your Army."'[1]

Furthermore, that on the 11th October 1651, directly after the said Battle, Gloucester did itself the honour of appointing the Lord General Oliver Cromwell, 'in consideration of the singular favour and benevolence which his Excellency hath manifested to us and to this City,' High Steward of the same, 'with an annual rent of 100 shillings, issuing out of our Manors';—for at least one payment of which there exists the Lord General's receipt, in this form:

23 Novemb 1652

	£	s.	d.
Recd of the Maior and Burg[s] of Glouc[r] by the hands of Mr. Dorney Townclerke of the said City, the day and year above[s]d the some of ffive pounds as being a fee due to me as Lord High Steward of the said Citty, I say Recd	05	00	00

O. Cromwell.*

7. The following brief Note to the Poet Waller, which has latterly turned up, has a certain peculiar interest, on two grounds: *first*, to all readers, as offering some momentary glimpse, momentary but unique and indisputable, of Oliver's feeling on reading the Poet's noble '*Panegyric to my Lord Protector*'; and *secondly*, to antiquarian people, as fixing what was hitherto left vague, the approximate date of that celebrated Piece.[2] To an audacious guesser it might almost seem, these Verses had reached Oliver, by messenger, a day or two before; and the 'unhappy mistake' were Oliver's, in sending, on the morrow, to have an interview with Waller, and finding him to be at Northampton instead!—

For my very loving Friend Edmund[3] *Waller, Esq., Northampton: Haste, haste*

"Whitehall," 13th June 1655.

Sir,—Let it not trouble you that, by so unhappy a mistake, you are, as I hear, at Northampton. Indeed I am passionately affected with it.

[1] *Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis*, p 406. * *Ibid.* p, 411.

[2] Fenton, *Works of Edmund Waller* (London 1730), gives the *Panegyric* (pp. 113-121): and (*ib.* p. cix.) his Note upon it, in which all he can say as to date is, 'about the year 1654.'

[3] Copy has 'Edward' as yet.

I have no guilt upon me unless it be to be revenged for your so willingly mistaking me in your Verses.[1] This action "of mine" will put you to redeem me from yourself, as you have already from the world. Ashamed, I am, your friend and servant,

OLIVER P.*

8 and 9. Two poor American scraps, which our New-England friends ought to make more lucent for us; worth their paper and ink in this place.

To Our trusty and well-beloved the President, Assistants and Inhabitants of Rhode Island, together with the rest of the Providence Plantations, in the Narragansett Bay in New England

"Whitehall," 29th March 1655.

GENTLEMEN,—Your Agent here hath presented unto us some particulars concerning your Government, which you judge necessary to be settled by us here. But by reason of the other great and weighty affairs of this Commonwealth, we have been necessitated to defer the consideration of them to a farther opportunity.

In the mean while we were willing to let you know, That you are to proceed in your Government according to the tenor of your Charter formerly granted on that behalf; taking care of the peace and safety of these Plantations, that neither through any intestine commotions, or foreign invasions, there do arise any detriment or dishonour to this Commonwealth or yourselves, as far as you by your care and diligence can prevent. And as for the things which are before us, they shall, as soon as the other occasions will permit, receive a just and fitting determination.

And so we bid you farewell; and rest, your very loving friend,

OLIVER P.†

Towards the end of the Dutch War, during that undefinable relation with France, 'hostile rather than neutral,' which did not end in Treaty till October 1655,[2] Oliver's Major Sedgwick, whom we have since known

1 Fenton's *Waller*, pp. 113 and cix.

* In the *Waller* Archives, Beaconsfield; copied by a 'Rev. L. B. Larking,' Cousin of the now Waller;—printed in *Notes-and-Queries* Newspaper, 2d Jan. 1858. (*Note, of* 1869.)

† Original in the Rhode-Island Archives: Printed in Hutchinson's *Collection*, and elsewhere.

2 Thurloe, iv. 75.

in Jamaica, had laid hold of certain 'French Forts,' and indeed of a whole French region, the region now called *Nova Scotia*, then called *Acadie*; of which Forts and of the region they command, it is Oliver's purpose, for the behoof of his New-Englanders, to retain possession[1];—as the following small document will testify:

To Captain John Leverett, Commander of the Forts lately taken from the French in America

We have received an account from Major Sedgwick of his taking several Forts from the French in America, and that he hath left you to command and secure them for Us and this Commonwealth: And although We make no doubt of your fidelity and diligence in performance of your trust, yet We have thought it necessary to let you know of how great consequence it is, that you use your utmost care and circumspection, as well to defend and keep the Forts abovesaid, as also to improve the regaining of them into Our hands to the advantage of Us and this State, by such ways and means as you shall judge conducible thereunto. And as We shall understand from you the state and condition of those places, We shall from time to time give such directions as shall be necessary.

Given at Whitehall, this 3d of April 1655.

OLIVER P.*

To which there are now, from this side of the Water, the following small Excerpts to be added:

Grant of Privy Seal: '6th June 1655, to Major Robert Sedgwick, £1,793. 7*s*. 8*d*., in full of his Account for service done against the French.' And

Ditto, '28th July 1656, to Captain John Leverett, £4,482. 3*s*. 11½*d*., in full satisfaction of all sums of money due to him upon Account of his

[1] In Bancroft's *History of the United States* (Boston, 1837), i. 445, is some faint and not very exact notice of the affair.

* Original in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society: Printed in their *Third Series*, vii. 121.— —In vol. ii. of the same Work (Boston, 1820), pp. 323-364, is an elaborate Notice of certain fragmentary MS. *Records of the Long Parliament* still extant at New York,—which Notice ought to be cancelled in subsequent editions! The amazingly curious 'Records' at New York turn-out to be nothing but some odd volumes of the *Commons Journals* of that period; the entire Set of which, often enough copied in *manuscript*, was *printed* here about fifty years ago, and is very common indeed, in the Buttershops and elsewhere!

receipts and disbursements about the Forts taken from the French in America, and of his Salary for 760 days, at 15s. *per diem.*[1]

Oliver kept his Forts and his *Acadie*, through all French Treaties, for behoof of his New-Englanders: not till after the Restoration did the country become French again, and continue such for a century or so.

10. Is a small domestic matter:

For Colonel Alban Cox, in Hertfordshire

Whitehall, 24th April 1655

SIR,—Having occasion to speak with you upon some Affairs relating to the Public, I would have you, as soon as this comes to your hands, to repair up hither; and upon your coming, you shall be acquainted with the particular reasons of my sending for you. I rest, your loving friend, OLIVER P.*

At Blackdown House in Sussex, now and for long past the residence of a family named Yaldwin, are preserved two Letters Patent signed 'Oliver P.,' of date 3d December 1656, appointing 'William Yaldwin Esq.' High Sheriff of Sussex. Printed in Dallaway's *Rape of Arundel* (p. 363); need not be reprinted here.

No. 29

SUFFOLK YEOMANRY

[Vol. iii. p. 222.]

The Suffolk Commission for a select mounted County-Militia, still remains; one remaining out of many that have perished. Addressed to the Humphrey Brewster whom we have occasionally met with before.[2]

Instructions unto Colonel Humphrey Brewster, commissionated by his Highness the Lord Protector to be Captain of a Troop of Horse to be raised within the County of Suffolk, for the service of his Highness and the Commonwealth

1. You shall forthwith raise, enlist, and have in readiness under your command as Captain, and such Lieutenant, Cornet and

[1] *Fourth Report of Deputy Keeper of the Public Records* (London, 1843), Appendix ii. p. 192; *Fifth Report* (London, 1844), Appendix ii. p. 260.

* *Gentleman's Magazine* (London, 1788), lviii. 379.

[2] Antea, p. 284.

Quarter-Master as his Highness shall commissionate for that purpose, One-hundred able Soldiers, the three Corporals included, well mounted for service, and armed with one good sword and case of pistols, holsters, saddle, bridle, and other furniture fit for war, to serve as a Troop of Horse in the service of the Commonwealth, as is hereafter required.

2. You shall use your utmost endeavour that the said Troops shall be men of good life and conversation; and before their being listed shall promise that they will be true and faithful to his Highness the Lord Protector and the Commonwealth, against all who shall design or attempt anything against his Highness's Person, or endeavour to disturb the Public Peace. And the like engagement shall be taken by the Lieutenant, Cornet and Quarter-Master of the said Troop.

3. You shall be ready to draw forth and muster the said Troop, armed and fitted as aforesaid, upon the 25th day of December next ensuing, from which time the said Troop, Officers and Soldiers, shall be deemed to be in the actual service of his Highness and the Commonwealth, and be paid accordingly. And you shall also draw forth the said Troops four times in every year within the county of Suffolk, completely furnished as before mentioned, to be raised and mustered by such persons as shall from time to time be appointed by the Protector.

4. You shall also at all other times have the said Troops in all readiness as aforesaid at forty-eight hours' warning, or sooner if it may be, whensoever his Highness, or such as he shall appoint for that purpose, shall require the same for the suppressing of any invasion, rebellion, insurrection, or tumult, or performing of any other service within England and Wales. And in case that any of the said service shall continue above the space of Twenty-eight days in one year, the said Officers and Soldiers shall, after the expiration of the said Twenty-eight days, be paid according to the establishment of the Army then in force, over and besides what is agreed to be paid unto them by these presents, for so long as they shall continue in the said service.

5. That in case any shall make default in appearance, without just and sufficient cause, or shall not be mounted, armed and provided as aforesaid, or shall offend against good manners or the

laws of war; that every person so offending shall be liable to such punishment as the Captain or chief Officer present with the Troops, with advice of the persons appointed to take the said musters, shall think fit: provided the said punishment extends no farther than loss of place or one year's pay.

6. That in consideration of the service to be performed as aforesaid, you shall receive for the use of the said Troop the sum of One-thousand pounds per annum, to be paid out of the public revenue by quarterly payments, to be distributed according to the proportions following: To yourself, as Captain, one-hundred pounds per annum; to the Lieutenant fifty pounds per annum; to the Cornet twenty-five pounds per annum; to the Quarter-Master thirteen pounds six shillings and eightpence per annum; to each of the three Corporals, two pounds "additional" per annum; one Trumpet, five pounds six shillings and four-pence per annum; and to each Soldier eight pounds per annum. OLIVER P.*

Whitehall, 26th October 1655.

No. 30

SPEECH SHOULD-BE 'XV'

[Vol. iv. p. 120.]

FINAL Speech on that matter of the Kingship (concerning *which* it is gracefully altogether silent); that is to say, Speech on *accepting* the Humble Petition and Advice, with the Title of King withdrawn, and that of Protector substituted as he had required: Painted Chamber, Monday 25th May 1657.[1]

MR. SPEAKER,—I desire to offer a word or two unto you; which shall be but a word. I did well bethink myself, before I came hither this day, that I came not as to a triumph, but with the most serious thoughts that ever I had in all my life, to undertake one of the greatest tasks that ever was laid upon the back of a human creature. And I make no question but you will, and so

* In the possession of Charles Meadows, Esq., Great Bealings, Woodbridge; a descendant of Brewster's.

[1] *Commons Journals*, vii. 539, 537 (last entry there).

will all men, readily agree with me that without the support of the Almighty I shall necessarily sink under the burden of it; not only with shame and reproach to myself, but with that that is more a thousand times, and in comparison of which I and my family are not worthy to be mentioned,—with the loss and prejudice of these Three Nations. And, that being so, I must ask your help, and the help of all those that fear God, that by their prayers I may receive assistance from the hand of God. His presence, going along, will enable to the discharge of so great a duty and trust as this is: and nothing else "will."

Howbeit, I have some other things to desire you, I mean of the Parliament:—That seeing this is but, as it were, an introduction to the carrying-on of the government of these Nations, and forasmuch as there are many things which cannot be supplied, for the enabling to the carrying-on of this work, without your help and assistance, I think it is my duty to ask your help in them. Not that I doubted; for I believe the same spirit that hath led you to this will easily suggest the rest to you. The truth is, and I can say "it" in the presence of God, that nothing would have induced me to have undertaken this insupportable burden to flesh and blood, had it not been that I have seen in this Parliament all along a care of doing all those things that might truly and really answer the ends that have been engaged: for you have satisfied[1] your forwardness and readiness therein very fully already.

I thought it my duty, when your Committee which you were pleased to send to me to give the grounds and reasons of your proceedings to help my conscience and judgment,—I was then bold to offer to them several considerations: which were received by them, and have been presented to you. In answer to which, the Committee did bring several resolves of yours, which I have by me. I think those are not yet made so authentic and authoritative as was desired; and therefore, though I cannot doubt it, yet I thought it my duty to ask it of you, that there may be a perfecting of those things. Indeed, as I said before, I have my witness in the sight of God, that nothing would have been an argument to me, howsoever desirable great places may seem to

[1] Query, testified?

be to other men; I say, nothing would have been an argument to me to have undertaken this; but, as I said before, I saw such things determined by you as makes clearly for the liberty of the Nations, and for the liberty and interest and preservation of all such as fear God,—of all that fear God under various forms. And if God make not these Nations thankful to you for your care therein, it will fall as a sin on their heads. And therefore I say, that hath been one main encouragement.

I confess there are other things that tend to reformation, to the discountenancing of vice, to the encouragement of good men and virtue, and the completing of those things also,—concerning some of which you have not yet resolved anything; save to let me know by your Committee that you would not be wanting in anything for the good of these Nations. Nor do I speak it as in the least doubting it; but I do earnestly and heartily desire, to the end God may crown your work and bless you and this Government, that in your own time, and with what speed you judge fit, these things may be provided for.*

No. 31

From 1657. LAST ROYALIST PLOT

[Vol. iv. p. 181.]

1. *To Our trusty and well-beloved the Vice-chancellor and Convocation of our University of Oxford*

OLIVER P.

TRUSTY and well beloved,—We greet you well. Amongst the many parts of that Government which is intrusted to us, we do look upon the Universities as meriting very much of our care and thoughts: And finding that the place of Chancellor of our University of Oxford is at present in Ourself; and withal judging that the continuance thereof in our hands may not be so consistent with the present constitution of affairs,—

We have therefore thought fit to resign the said Office, as

* *Commons Journals*, vii. 439-40.

we hereby do; and to leave you at freedom to elect some such other person thereunto, as you shall conceive meet for the execution thereof.

Our will and pleasure therefore is, That you do proceed to the election of a Chancellor with your first conveniency. Not doubting but you will, in your choice, have a just regard to the advancement and encouragement of Piety and Learning, and to the continuing and farther settling of good Order and Government amongst you; which you may easily find yourselves obliged to have principally in your consideration and design, whether you respect the University itself, or the good of the Commonwealth upon which it hath so great an influence. And although our relation to you may by this means in some sort be changed, yet you may be confident we shall still retain a real affection to you, and be ready upon all occasions to seek and promote your good.

Given at Whitehall, this 3d day of July 1657.*

2. *To Our Trusty and well-beloved the Bailiffs and Free Burgesses of our Town of Oswestry: These*

OLIVER P.

Trusty and well-beloved,—We, being informed that the Free School of our Town of Oswestry is now void of a Head Schoolmaster settled there, by reason of the delinquency and ejection of Edward Paine late Schoolmaster thereof,

Have thought fit to recommend unto you Mr. John Evans, the son of Matthew Evans, late of Penegoes in the County of Montgomery, as a fit person, both for piety and learning, to be Head Schoolmaster of the said School; and That, so far as in yourselves "is," the said Mr. Evans may be forthwith settled and invested there accordingly.

Which Act of yours we shall be ready to confirm, if it be adjudged requisite and proper for us. And not doubting of the performance of this our pleasure, we commit you to God.

Given at Whitehall, this 13th day of July 1657.†

* Archives of Oxford University. Communicated by the Rev. Dr. Bliss.

† *Endowed Grammar-Schools*, by N. Carlisle (London, 1818), ii. 369, art. Salop.

3. *To Our trusty and well-beloved the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of our City of Gloucester: These*

OLIVER P.

TRUSTY and well-beloved,—We greet you well. I do hear on all hands that the Cavalier party are designing to put us into blood. We are, I hope, taking the best care we can, by the blessing of God, to obviate this danger; but our intelligence on all hands being, that they have a design upon your City, we could not but warn you thereof, and give you authority, as we do hereby.

To put yourselves into the best posture you can for your own defence, by raising your Militia by virtue of your Commissioners formerly sent to you, and putting them in a readiness for the purpose aforesaid. Letting you also know that, for your better encouragement herein, you shall have a troop of horse sent you to quarter in or near your Town.

We desire you to let us hear from you, from time to time, what occurs to you touching the Malignant party: and so we bid you farewell.

Given at Whitehall, this 2d of December 1657.*

A Paper of the same date, of precisely the same purport, directed to the Authorities at Bristol, has come to us; another out of many then sent; but of course only one, if even one, requires to be inserted here.

4. Letter written directly on dissolving the Parliament; probably one of many, to the like effect, despatched that day:

For Colonel Cox, Captain of the Militia Troop in our County of Hertford: These. For our special service

To be left with the Postmaster of St. Albans: to be speedily sent

Whitehall, 4th February 1657.

SIR,—By our last Letters to you, we acquainted you what danger the Commonwealth was then in from the old Cavalier Party (who were designing new insurrections within us, whilst their Head and Master was contriving to invade us from abroad);—

* City Records of Gloucester (in *Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis*, p. 419).

and thereupon desired your care and vigilancy for preserving the peace, and apprehending all dangerous persons.

Our intelligence of that kind still continues. And we are more assured of their resolutions to put in execution their designs aforesaid within a very short time; "they" being much encouraged from some late actings of some turbulent and unquiet spirits, as well in this Town as elsewhere, who, to frustrate and render vain and fruitless all those good hopes of Settlement which we had conceived from the proceedings of Parliament before their Adjournment in June last, framed a treasonable Petition to the House of Commons, by the name of the "Parliament of the Commonwealth of England"; designing thereby not only the overthrow of the late *Petition and Advice* of the Parliament, but of all that hath been done these seven years; hoping thereby to bring all things into confusion;—and were in a very tumultuous manner procuring subscriptions thereunto, giving out that they were encouraged to it by some Members of the House of Commons.

And the truth is, the Debates that have been in that House since their last meeting have had a tendency to the stirring-up and cherishing such humours;—having done nothing in fourteen days but debate Whether they should own the Government of these Nations, as it is contained in the *Petition and Advice*, which the Parliament at their former sitting had invited us to accept of, and had sworn us unto; they themselves also having taken an Oath upon it before they went into the House. And we, judging these things to have in them very dangerous consequences to the Peace of this Nation, and to the loosening all the bonds of Government; and being hopeless of obtaining supplies of money, for answering the exigencies of the Nation, from such men as are not satisfied with the Foundation we stand upon,—thought it of absolute necessity to dissolve this present Parliament;—which I have done this day:—And to give you notice thereof; that you, with your Troop, may be most vigilant for the suppressing of any disturbance which may arise from any party whatsoever. And if you can hear of any persons who have been active to promote the aforesaid treasonable Petition, that you apprehend them, and give an account thereof to us forthwith. And we do farther let you know, That we are sensible of your want of pay for yourself and

Troop; and do assure you that effectual care shall be taken therein, and that without delay. And so I rest, your loving friend,

OLIVER P.*

5. *For the Commanders of the Militia of the City of Gloucester: These*

Whitehall, 11th March 1657.

GENTLEMEN,—We are informed that the Enemy from Flanders intend to invade us very suddenly, and to that purpose have Twenty-two Ships of War ready in the Harbour of Ostend, and are preparing others also which they have bought in Holland, and some men are ready to be put on board them. And at the same time an Insurrection is intended in this Nation. And the time for the executing these designs is intended by them to be very sudden.

We have therefore thought fit to give you notice hereof; and to signify to you our pleasure, That you put yourselves into the best posture you can for the securing the City of Gloucester, and put the arms into such hands as are true and faithful to us and this Commonwealth. We desire you to be very careful, and to let us hear from you of the receipt of this, and what you shall do in pursuance of this Letter. I rest, your very assured friend,

OLIVER P.†

No. 32

TWO MANDATES TO CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY

[Vol. iv. p. 269.]

1. THAT John Castle be made Master of Arts:

To Our trusty and well-beloved the Vice-chancellor and Senate of Our University of Cambridge

OLIVER P.

TRUSTY and well-beloved,—Whereas by our appointment several Students in our University of Cambridge have been invited

* *Gentleman's Magazine* (London, 1788), lviii. 313.

† City Records of Gloucester (in *Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis*, p. 421).

abroad to preach the Gospel in our Fleet, and for their encouragement have been by us assured that they should not suffer any prejudice in the University by reason of their absence in the said service: And whereas a petition hath been exhibited on the behalf of Mr. John Castle of Trinity College, showing that whilst he was abroad as Minister in the Newcastle Frigate, he was disappointed of taking his degree of Master of Arts (as by course he ought), and that he cannot now, since his return, commence without the loss of one year's seniority, by reason of a statute of the University denying degrees to any non-resident:

In performance of our said promise, and for the future encouragement of others in the like service, We do hereby signify unto you, That it is our will and pleasure that the said John Castle be by you created Master of Arts, and allowed the same seniority which, according to the custom of your University, he had enjoyed had he been resident at the usual time of taking degrees.

Given at Whitehall, the 22d day of June 1658.*

Castle, the Books indicate, had entered Trinity at the same time, and been under the same Tutor, with a very famous person, '*John Driden Northampt. admissus Pens.*'—both, namely, were admitted 'Pensioners,' in Sept. 1649.

2. That Benjamin Rogers be made Bachelor of Music,—'a Form of Oliver Cromwell's Mandats,' says Baker, who has excerpted this one.

To Our trusty and well-beloved the Vice-chancellor and Senate of Our University of Cambridge

OLIVER P.

Trusty and well-beloved,—We greet you well. Whereas we are informed that you cannot, by the statutes and according to the customs of your University, admit any to the degree of Bachelor of Music unless he had some years before 'been' admitted in a college: And whereas we are also certified that Benjamin Rogers hath attained to eminency and skill in that

* Cambridge Archives, 'Grace-Book H. p. 181.' Communicated by Rev. J Edleston, Fellow of Trinity College.

faculty:—We, willing to give all encouragement to the studies and abilities of men in that or any other ingenuous faculty, have thought fit to declare our will and pleasure, by these our letters, that, notwithstanding your statutes and customs, you cause Benjamin Rogers to be admitted and created Bachelor in Music, in some one or more of your congregations assembled in that our University; he paying such dues as are belonging to that degree, and giving some proof of his accomplishments and skill in music. And for so doing, these our letters shall be your warrant.

Given at Whitehall, the 28th day of May 1658.*

* Copy in Harl. MSS. no. 7053, f. 152 (Baker MSS. x. 373);—and as before, in 'Grace-Book H. p. 180.'——The Originals will never turn up. In the same Register of 'Graces,' or Decrees of Senate, is one (of date 1661) for *burning* whatsoever Mandates or Missives there are from Cromwell; whereby doubtless the Originals (with small damage to *them*, and some satisfaction to the Heads of Houses) were destroyed.

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